

A MODEL OF PEDAGOGIC DISCOURSE
WITH SPECIAL APPLICATION TO THE
COLOMBIAN PRIMARY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

by

Mario Díaz V.

1983

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Sociology of Education
Institute of Education
University of London

ABSTRACT

We have attempted to present a model of analysis of the distinguishing features of the nature and functions of the process and context of reproduction of educational discourse. The starting point is a double interest, basically defined by (1) the analysis of the means of the constitution of educational discourse and (2) the analysis of the structure and social relations intrinsic to the means of reproduction of educational discourse (Pedagogic Discourse), and its social context.

We consider that, in general, the model developed in the thesis attempts directly or indirectly to elaborate:

1. A theory of the process of reproduction of educational discourse, as an essential part of a general theory of reproduction of discourse(s) in a given social formation.
2. A conceptual apparatus fundamental to the description of the macro-micro processes inherent in the production-reproduction of educational discourse.
3. A conceptual apparatus fundamental to the description of the dominant structure, social relations and contradictions of the context of reproduction of educational discourse.

In essence, we have assumed that the process of constitution/reproduction of educational discourse entails a set of means (agents, discourse, practices) and contexts (recontextualising-reproducing contexts). The basic category we have studied is Pedagogic Discourse which, in our view, can be considered as the most important means of regulation of the practices of reproduction of educational discourse.

In essence, this discourse is not only a recontextualising device of other discourses and practices, it is fundamentally an ideological device which regulates and integrates the rules for the transmission/acquisition of specialised competences and the rules for the transmission/acquisition of legitimate order, relation and identity.

We shall apply this model to an analysis of the development of contemporary Primary Education in Colombia.

Finally, we shall discuss the relations between Bernstein and Foucault who have both influenced the development of our model of Pedagogic Discourse and the practices it regulates.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to those institutions, colleagues, lecturers and friends that directly or indirectly contributed with the encouragement and support to make this thesis possible. Among them: the Universidad de Valle and CORSOCIALES (that made financially feasible my studies), Dr. Miryam Zuniga, Dr. Gustavo de Roux (Dean of the Faculty of Education, Univalle), Dr. Charles Posner (of the Department of Sociology, University of London) and Marcello Elissetche (doctoral student at the Department of Sociology, University of London).

My greatest debt without doubt is to Professor Basil Bernstein, Head of the Department of Sociology of Education, University of London, who as my tutor supervised, guided and helped me in the development of the ideas. I will always consider myself a very fortunate person for having had the possibility of working with him in intensive sessions, and for having his support, friendship and encouragement.

I must not forget Marianna Tappas who has invested great effort in the laborious typing.

Finally, I want to thank my wife Ceneyra who constantly inspired me and gave me the confidence and enthusiasm to achieve my purposes.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iv
<u>Part One</u> THE MODEL	1
Chapter 1. Outline and Perspectives of the Model	2
Chapter 2. On Discourse	22
Chapter 3. Development of the Model (I)	44
Chapter 4. Development of the Model (II)	71
Chapter 5. Specific Instructional Discourse (SID)	94
Chapter 6. Specific Regulative Discourse (SRD)	127
Chapter 7. Relations Between Instructional and Regulative Discourse	160
Chapter 8. Conclusions	176
<u>Part Two</u> APPLICATION OF THE MODEL	187
Chapter 9. Field of Production, Field of Symbolic Control, the State and Education in Colombia	189
Chapter 10. A Case-Study of Primary Education in Official Discourse	236
Chapter 11. Reform of Primary Education (1976)	264
Chapter 12. Theoretical Appraisal	297
Chapter 13. General Conclusions	345
Appendix 1. 	372
Appendix 2. 	377
Appendix 3. 	384
Appendix 4. 	393
Bibliography	403

Part One

THE MODEL

CHAPTER ONE

OUTLINE AND PERSPECTIVES OF THE MODEL

Outline of the Model¹

1. This study attempts to develop a model of analysis integrating the elements and modes of determination of those structures and social relations which constitute what we shall call the context of reproduction of educational discourse² (process of schooling). We shall derive from this general model both the means of analysis and our interpretation of the inter-relations between the educational process and cultural and economic reproduction in Colombia.

The pedagogic process in Colombia as in most Latin American countries has been historically constrained by economic, political and ideological factors internal to those countries but also crucially by the relations between these countries and the USA and Europe. In an important sense, the application of the model we shall develop will be a test of the usefulness of the model and of the ability of its concepts to describe the complexity of a particular substantive reality.

-
1. Our discussion will be necessarily formal concerned to bring out the essential link required to illustrate our model. We shall not be concerned with theoretical and substantive issues entailed in the analysis of these fields and their inter-relation. Our essential concern is with the Pedagogic discourse in the context of reproduction. In Part II we shall be involved in a detailed description of the fields of the State, production and symbolic control and an analysis of their historical relations in the context of Colombia. We shall then be in a position to consider the usefulness of the model.
 2. "Context of reproduction" or "Secondary context" is a concept developed by Bernstein, initially in 1977: "introduction", and later in 1981. We will refer to this concept in later chapters.

2. The fundamental assumption underlying this study is that the general contemporary context of reproduction of educational discourse (schooling) is related to two fields: the field of production in terms of the attempts of the production/reproduction of specialised categories - together with their skills and dispositions - relevant to the field of production, and the field of symbolic control, "through which a given distribution of power and dominating cultural categories are legitimised and maintained"³ (Bernstein, Seminars). This context generates a set of social relations between agents, discourses, practices and sites which can be considered as the expression of the distribution of power and principles of control within a given society.

We also assume that the general objective of the context of educational reproduction is to position individuals (pupils/teachers) with reference to a set of legitimised meanings and social relations. Meanings refer to the recontextualised discourses transmitted by schools often referred to as "educational knowledge". Social relations refer to those specific practices regulating the transmission and acquisition of legitimate meanings and which regulate the constitution of order, relation and identity internal and external to the individual (pupil/teacher) (Bernstein, 1977, 1981). We hope to show that implicit in the legitimised meanings and social relations is a pedagogic code which is tacitly acquired by pupils.

The analysis presented here considers that the process known as schooling, realised in the context of reproduction, through which educational discourse and its imbedded principles are transmitted and

3. The main contemporary studies on cultural and educational reproduction have been drawn by Bernstein (1977) and Bourdieu (1977). On the correspondence between the mode of production and education, see Bowles and Gintis (1976).

acquired, is regulated in different ways and degrees by a category we shall call Pedagogic discourse. Pedagogic discourse, in turn, may be considered, at a very general level, as a specialised discourse whose internal principles regulate the production of specific objects (transmitters-acquirers) and the production of specific practices. We shall not here be concerned with the historical modes of determination of Pedagogic discourse.

3. We will now present some introductory descriptive considerations which represent the underlying assumptions which will guide our study of Pedagogic discourse and its articulation in the context of reproduction of educational discourse in Colombia.

In the first place we will distinguish three main fields: the field of production, the field of symbolic control and the field of the State. The fields of production and symbolic control are subordinate to the State which defines their degrees of relative autonomy.

Field of Production

Bernstein (1981:29) has defined the field of production in his model as that field "whose ideologies and agencies regulate the means, contexts and possibilities of physical resources." Basic to the field of production (of physical resources) is the existence of categories and practices which according to Bernstein (1981:11) are regulated by the principle of the social division of labour (classification) and its internal social relations (framing). Bernstein has said that power relations produce the insulation between categories. Thus, power relations constituted in the field of production regulate the principle of classification of its agents and practices. What is important to retain from this point is that the dominating agents within the field

of production, by preserving the strong classification between themselves and the dominated categories produce/reproduce the dominant class relations between the social groups within a specific society. In this case the dominant principle to be reproduced and maintained is the strong classification of the social relations of production and their practices of the social division of labour of the field of production.

Field of Symbolic Control

The field of symbolic control may be considered as that field whose categories (agents, agencies and discourses) regulate the reproduction of the dominant class relations by symbolic means, (principles of communication). Bernstein has defined this field as the field "whose ideologies and agencies regulate the means, contexts and legitimate possibilities of cultural reproduction" (1981:29). Basic to the modalities of symbolic control constituted in the field of symbolic control are the categories and practices which in Bernstein's view are regulated by the principle of the social division of labour and its internal social relations. The principle which regulates the "communicative practices of the social relations within the reproduction of discursive resources" in the field of symbolic control (Bernstein 1981:22), through which given power between the categories created by the field of production can be maintained and reproduced, has been called by Bernstein framing. The agencies of symbolic control reproduce the dominant class relations through the reproduction of specific forms of communication in the process of reproduction of discursive resources. Classification in the field of symbolic control is a function of the principle of its social division of labour.

The field of production and the field of symbolic control can be considered two autonomous but inter-related fields with different functions: the field of production concerns the production of physical resources; the field of symbolic control concerns the reproduction of discursive resources; the mode of production constituted in the field of production produces the class relations as the fundamental "dominant cultural category" (Bernstein 1977:175); the field of symbolic control does not produce but contributes to the reproduction of class relations. Specific agencies of symbolic control (education) are concerned with the production and reproduction of specialised categories fundamental both to the field of production and to the field of symbolic control.

Field of the State

The State constitutes the field of categories, agents, agencies, discourses and practices for the maintenance, legitimation, reproduction and development of the dominating principles of class relations and practices of the society by the use of different means, ideological, political or repressive (legitimate force). Moreover, the State functions as a reproducing and legitimating structure of the categories, dominant relations and practices within the field of production and within the field of symbolic control. This means that the State creates specialised means of reproduction (political, legal and administrative) functional to the reproduction/conservation of the categories and practices within the field of production, but it also legitimates the categories and legitimate practices by which the dominant class relations are reproduced by the field of symbolic control in which it has its own specialised agencies.

However, to say that the State functions as a reproductive structure

of the field of production and of the field of symbolic control does not mean that the State always functions in a form optimal to the economic production and cultural reproduction. Different kinds of contradiction may arise (and obviously have arisen) between the field of production and the State. One form of contradiction may arise from non-reproduction. Thus, for example, in the transition from feudalism to capitalism the "Absolutist state in Europe became increasingly an obstacle to the development of the capital accumulation" (Wright, 1978:21). Another form of contradiction may arise from intervention. Thus, for example, during the phase of consolidation of monopoly capitalism the continuous interventions of the State in the field of production (through active involvement in the process of production) has provoked tension between these two fields (Offe and Ronge, 1975; Poulantzas, 1978). In the same way, different kind of contradictions may arise between the State and the agencies of symbolic control. An example can be given by the traditional tension between State and Church in some contemporary societies.

Secondly, we will distinguish between two main contexts directly and indirectly engaged both in the production/reproduction of educational discourse: a recontextualising context and a context of reproduction.⁴ We believe that it is crucial to make a distinction between these two contexts if we wish to understand the basic power relations underlying the control of educational discourse. We shall restrict our analysis of the recontextualising context to the recontextualising agencies

4. The systematic language we will use here has been based on the work of Basil Bernstein, and the theoretical developments he has realised in Class, Codes and Control: Vol. 3, and his paper entitled "Codes, Modalities and the Process of Cultural Reproduction: A Model" (1981). It also has been the product of his continuous advice and help during the development of this thesis.

within the State although our discussion will involve considerations of other recontextualising agencies which enjoy different degrees of autonomy.

The general order of relations which we will study in respective sections can be represented by the following diagram (Figure 1). This diagram attempts to provide an initial picture of the determinations and contradictions between the fields and contexts we have distinguished.

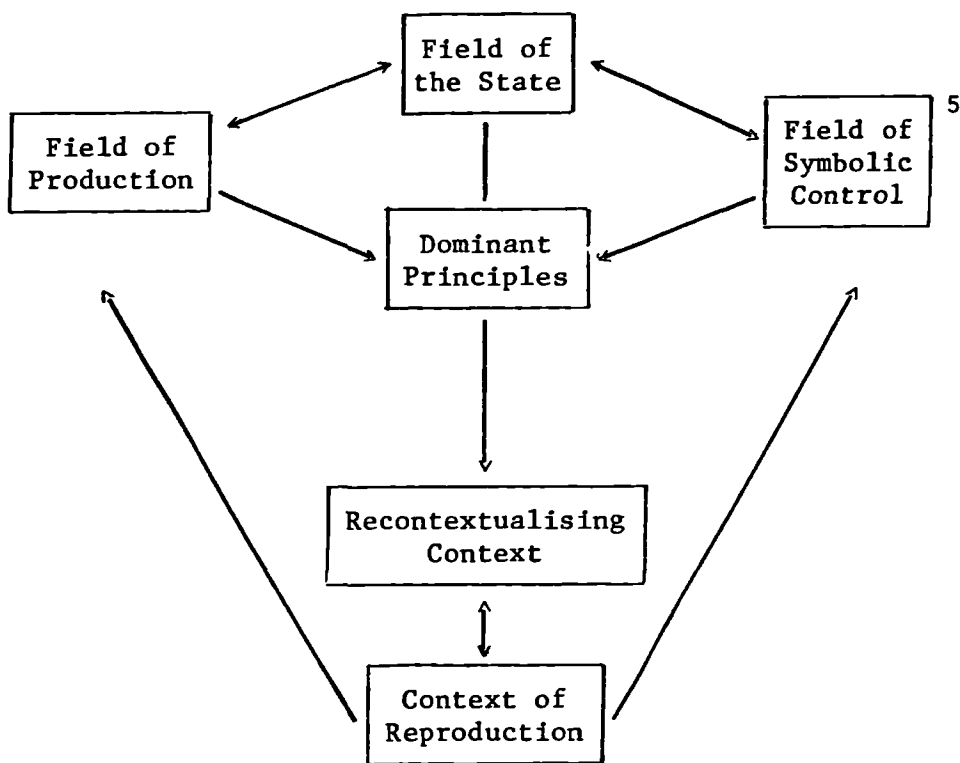
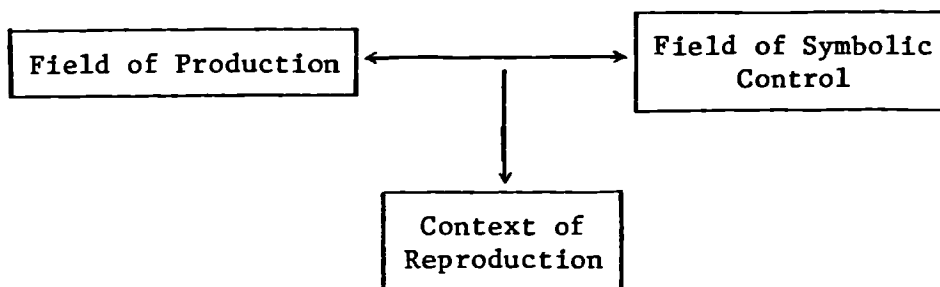


Figure 1

-
5. Although in the diagram we have separated the field of symbolic control from the field of the State it is clear that we are aware that formal agencies of symbolic control are positioned in the State and that the State, in turn, directly and indirectly regulates private agencies of symbolic control (medicine, sport, etc.). Our essential concern is with education and the formation of its Pedagogic discourse. It is useful, in this respect, to distinguish the field of symbolic control (with its own agencies, social division of labour and social relations) from the field of production (with its different agencies, social division of labour and social relations) when considering the systemic relations and classificatory relations of education.

In order to avoid mechanistic interpretations, here we will attempt to make clear some of the relations presented in the diagram. From the diagram, it is possible to infer a series of determinations between fields and contexts. The relations within contexts are not presented in the diagram as we will outline them in separate schemes. Relations within fields are of high complexity and these will not be schematised in this introduction.

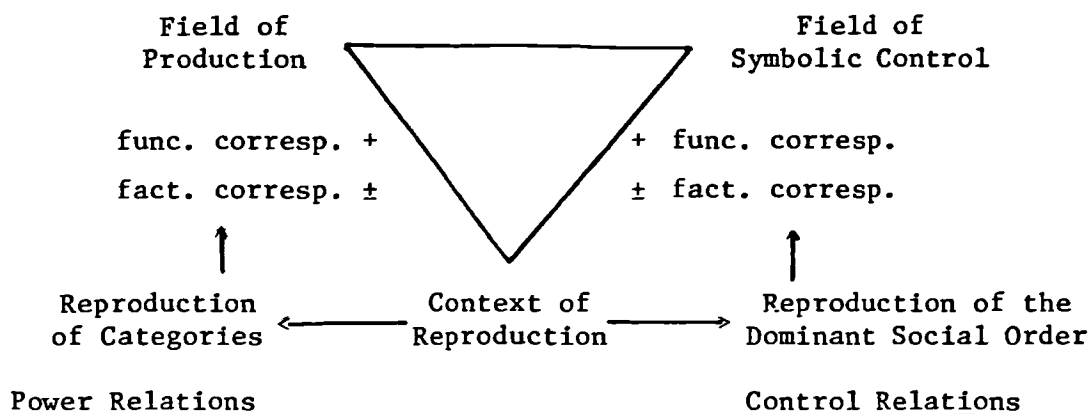
The first relevant determination in this study is the question of the determination of the context of reproduction by the fields of production and of symbolic control as their demands are regulated and then mediated through appropriate agencies of the State. We think that neither logically nor historically do these determinations coincide. The context of reproduction (education) was first constituted as an agency of symbolic control and only later articulated the demands of the field of production (Durkheim, 1977 - Bernstein, 1977:Ch. 8; Althusser, 1971).



However, we must make clear that the structural determination does not imply that the context of reproduction is necessarily functional for the production of the categories and practices relevant to the field of production, or functional for the reproduction of the dominant order implicit in the modalities of symbolic control. What

is called functional correspondence would refer, appropriating Hall's terms "to an analytical necessity, not an empirical fact" (Hall, 1977). A good example of this can be found in Bernstein (1977) who when analysing families and pupils "in terms of their relationships to the school's instrumental and expressive order at the levels of means and ends", finds a case "where the family is very negative and uninvolved in both the means and the ends of the two orders of the school" and the case "where pupils do not understand, and reject both the instrumental and expressive orders of the school" (see 1977:Ch. 1). In "Aspects of the Relations Between Education and Production" Bernstein, refuting Bowles and Gintis, states: "Consider various forms of industrial action over the last hundred years. The school in this respect is highly inefficient in creating a docile, deferential and subservient work force. The school today has difficulties in disciplining its students" (1977:188).

We can represent the relations between functional and factual correspondence in the following way:



Another inter-relation to be examined is that established between the field of production, the field of symbolic control and the State (and its dominant principles). According to our model the State

articulates the structural relationships between the field of production and the field of symbolic control. Given that the State and its different forms are determined by and determining of the structural relations between economic production and symbolic control, the structure of the State, in turn, contributes to reproduce the relations within and between the field of production and the field of symbolic control. We will use the concepts created by Bernstein to express the relations between the categories of the field of production and, the categories and practices realised in the field of symbolic control and its respective agencies. These concepts refer to the principles of classification and framing.

An important relation to be developed is that established between the recontextualising context and the context of reproduction. Briefly, the dominant principles of the State act selectively on those theories/practices within the intellectual field, which appropriated by pedagogic agencies legitimate and regulate the process of transmission and acquisition in the context of reproduction. Thus, these selected theories and practices are both implicit and explicit in the set of political decisions and regulations regulating the context of reproduction.⁶

According to our model the context of reproduction (schooling and schools) is not a simple response to the regulations arising out of the recontextualising context. Principles of contradiction, cleavages and dilemmas are inherent in both the recontextualising context (and its

6. We may well argue that the theories and practices selected by the State to regulate the process of transmission and acquisition may be in conflict with theories and practices which are available for legitimate institutionalisation within schooling. Whether this is the case or not depends upon the degree of autonomy of the recontextualising context. (See later discussion.)

regulations, formal and informal) and in the context of reproduction and in their inter-relations.

From this perspective we will attempt to make explicit the set of relations entailed in the production and regulation of Pedagogic discourse, itself the dominant regulated/regulating category of the context of reproduction. As we shall see, the mode of determination of Pedagogic discourse is complex and it is not the mechanical result or effect of the setting of limits fixed by the Dominant Principles of the State, although it celebrates them.

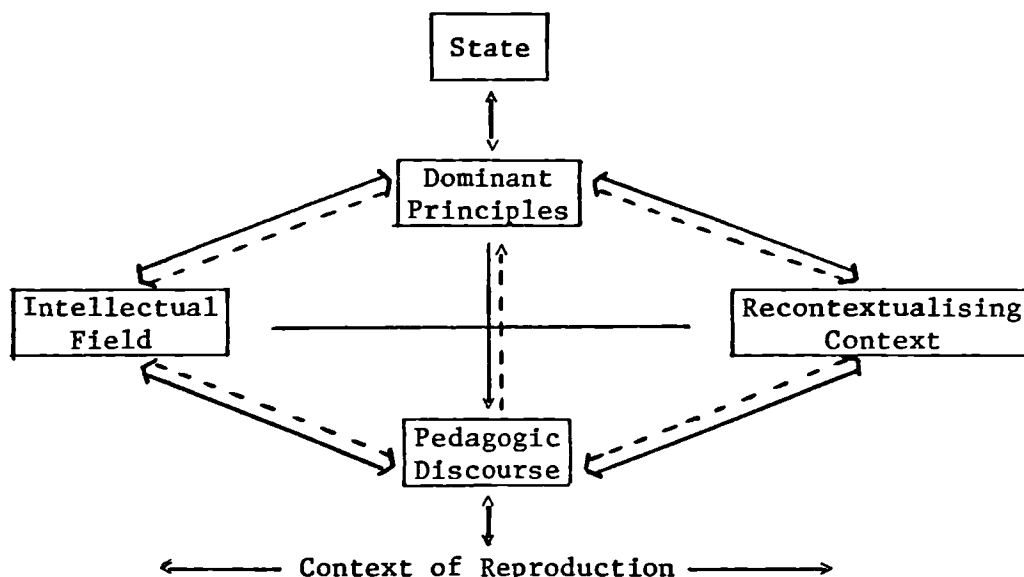


Figure 2

The lines (Figure 2) show the possible social relations implied in the determination (constitution) of Pedagogic discourse. It is clear that the lines suggest very abstract and complex processes which we will not go into here. These processes will form the basis of our later discussion.

We realise that in order to explain the particular modality of Pedagogic discourse a detailed analysis is required of the system of

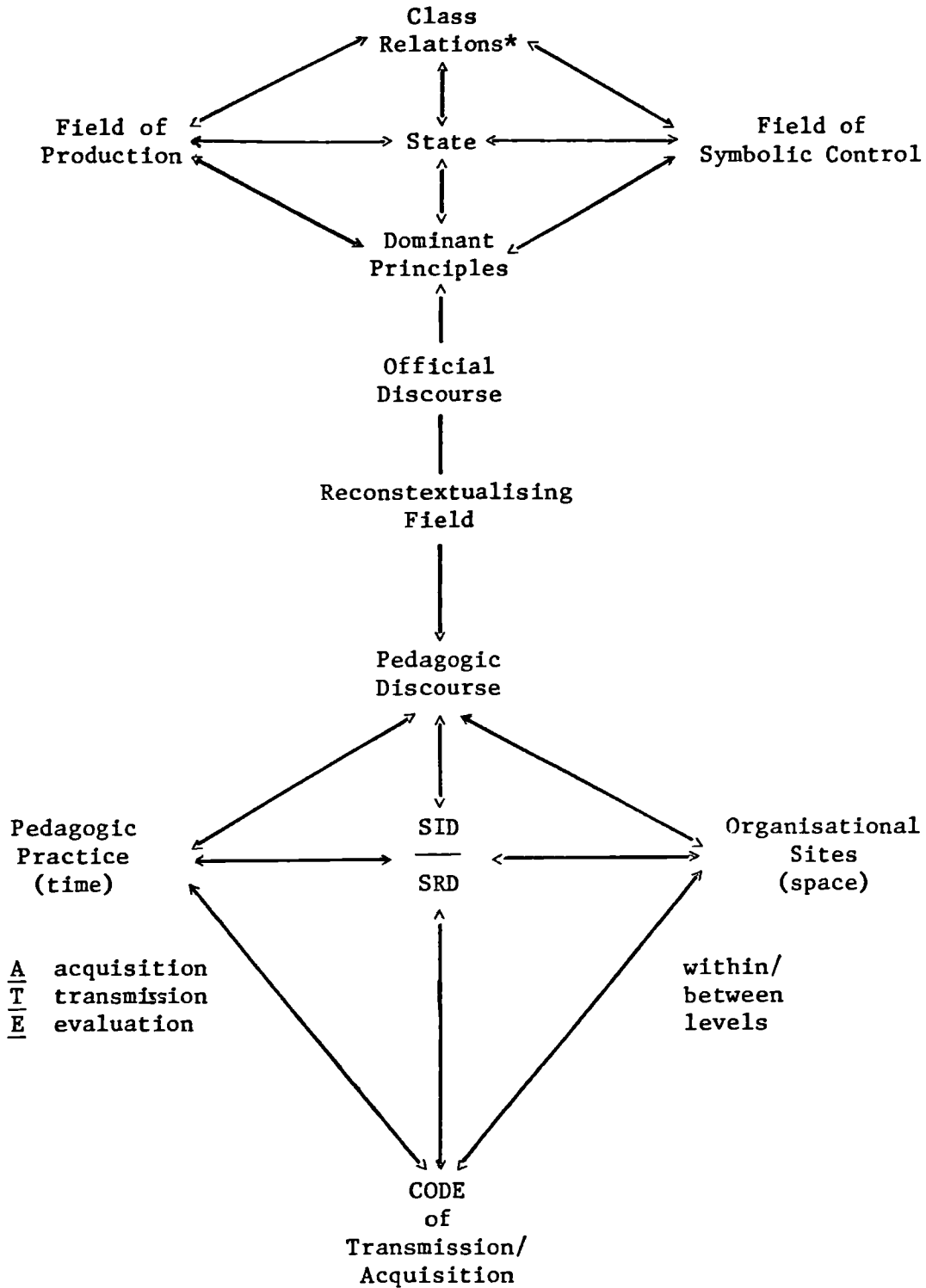


Figure 3

* Class relations maybe only one of the possible dominant principles. The logic of the model does not depend upon only one dominant (dominating) principle.

stratification, of the economy, and of symbolic control. Such an undertaking is a thesis in its own right. Here we shall be concerned with explicating a model (Figure 3) for the understanding of the internal structure of Pedagogic discourse. Our reference to the field of the State, production and symbolic control will necessarily be limited and formal rather than substantive. However, when we apply our model to the Colombian educational system we shall attempt to show the complex inter-relations which create both the modality of Pedagogic discourse and its internal contradictions.

Perspectives of the Model

One of the theoretical concerns of the thesis is to examine the relations between Foucault and Bernstein as both would seem to offer a starting point for developing a theory of Pedagogic discourse (Atkinson, 1981). Whilst Foucault's writings are readily available in a series of books and papers, Bernstein's perspective is scattered throughout a series of papers linked only by Introductions (Bernstein, 1974; 1977), which are not explicitly focused upon the issue of Pedagogic discourse.

In the past two years, Bernstein has begun to integrate his concepts, establish greater generality and specificity and direct their focus to Pedagogic discourse. Much of this latter work (with the exception of 'Codes, Modalities and the Process of Cultural Reproduction: A Model' (1981) and the paper "On the Circulation of Pedagogic Texts" (1982) given to the University of Stockholm) is not available in a systematised written form. It has been given in a series of seminars in the Department of Sociology of Education, Institute of Education (University of London) and at seminars abroad. As a consequence because of the disparate form of Bernstein's corpus, we have

had a major task of its reconstruction, description and development. This has presented two problems.

Firstly, we could have pieced the model together rather like a jig-saw puzzle indicating the source of the various pieces. This would perhaps have been confusing for the reader as it would have required a major exercise in the archeology of the published materials and frequent reference to unpublished work. We have decided instead to produce an a-historic synthesis which we will use for the basis of our approach and for evaluating the relations with Foucault.

Secondly, the model we will construct by these means is both very general and very specific. The very generality of the model (macro-relations) and its very specificity (micro-relations) create, in turn, a major question of referencing, and locating the fields, agencies, discourse and practices inter-related by our model in the literature. A glance at the formal structure of the model on page 13 will give an indication of our problem. Clearly, we cannot cite all the literature which bears upon the model nor can we comment upon the various theories and empirical research as this would take us far from our intended task. We have exactly the same problem when we consider the specificities of our model which necessarily draws upon theories, and research within the sociology of education. In an important sense we are implicitly using and recognising much of this work in the construction, description and interpretation of our model. However, in the language of our model, this work is being recontextualised in order to put to a use which was not the original intention of the research. It is a matter of some interest that, although there is an extensive literature if we examine the major texts within the sociology of education which give a definition of its range of concerns and, perhaps, in particular

the most recent and detailed of these, The Social Sciences in Educational Studies: A Selected Guide to the Literature (Hartnett, 1982), we do not find any systematic account of the principles of the specialised communicative practice which is the distinguishing feature of the school's central activity, transmission/aquisition. From Education, Economy and Society (Halsey, Floud and Anderson, 1961) to Power and Ideology in Education (Karabel and Halsey, 1977) we have an important index of the transformation and development of foci of interest within the sociology of education. Yet, the question of the analysis of Pedagogic discourse and its regulative practices receives little attention. The editors, however, in their "Introduction" to Power and Ideology in Education noted that Durkheim looked at education in France from the period of the "primitive church" to that of the "Third Republic" exploring the history of what the French call Les idées pédagogiques, a concept that includes not only the formal curriculum but also the way in which the knowledge is transmitted and evaluated. Interestingly enough, the "New Sociology of Education" (Knowledge and Control: New Directions in the Sociology of Education, M.F.D. Young, 1971) took as its focus the problematic nature of knowledge and the manner of its transmission, acquisition and evaluation in schools. Young states that: "it is or should be the central task of the sociology of education to relate the principles of selection and organisation that underly curricula to their institutional and interactional settings in schools and classrooms and to the wider social structure" (1971:24). However, this programme whatever else it produced did not produce what is called for. General theories of culture reproduction (see Apple (ed.), 1982) again appear to be more concerned with an analysis of what is reproduced in and by education, than with the medium of reproduction; the nature of the specialised

discourse. It is as if the specialised discourse of education is a voice through which others speak (class, gender, religion, region).

The perspective of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham, in opposing the determination of French theories of cultural reproduction (Unpopular Education, R. Johnson et al., 1981; Learning to Labour, P. Willis, 1977, are two examples) has as yet produced no systematic analysis of the cultural practice intrinsic to the educational process. Although this approach has attempted to create an active place and position for the working-class in the shaping of the process.

Perhaps the most important attempt to formalise the role of education in the reproduction of class relations has been carried out by Bourdieu and Passeron (1977). Whilst they are concerned with the analysis of the legitimation of structures of culture, principles of transmission/acquisition, communicative practices and their systems of meanings together with an analysis of how their arbitrary features disguise the power relations which they transmit (through méconnaissance to la violence symbolique) there is very little systematic and specific analysis of the principles whereby a specific discourse is constituted nor of the principles of its transmission. Bourdieu and Passeron distinguish two forms of communication in very general terms, "magisterial" (language of the transmitter) and "popular" (language of the working-class). Bourdieu and Passeron are more concerned with relations to pedagogic communication, that is, with the differential positioning of acquirers with respect to how they have been positioned in their relations to legitimate communication, than with the analysis of the relations within pedagogic communication.

Finally, if we turn to more specific aspects of the school, we

can find a diverse (not to say, perhaps, divergent) literature from Waller's Sociology of Teaching to the major review of current empirical research by W. Tyler, The Sociology of the School, a Review, (1982). Here is perhaps the bed rock of the field of the sociology of educational empirical studies of the school as an organisational structure and inter-actional practice where curriculum, pedagogic practice and modes of evaluation set the terms for the crucial encounters in the classroom context of teachers and pupils. Perhaps key new studies here are the studies of classroom language and the context and practices of its regulation and negotiation (Delamont, Stubbs, Cazden et al.; Edwards; Coulthard). These studies, crucial as they are, presuppose a particular focus, a focus which is less concerned with the question of how the distribution of power and principles of control establish a regulating discourse, but more concerned, and validly so, to articulate the principles of inter-actional communication and practice within the local context of the classroom. It is of little value to make a derogatory distinction between surface realisations and their underlying principles or grammar of realisation for what is one person's surface is another's underlying principles and vice versa. The body of work to which we have referred is of major relevance. Indeed, this body of work provides us not only with crucial points of reference and key concepts, but also has formulated the parameters for empirical research.

Our concern here is to indicate our difficulties of referring and locating our model in this literature. We have an option which, on the one hand, could involve extensive referencing of work all of which has some relevance, or only indicating work which is crucial to the formulation of our model. We have taken the second alternative.

We shall within the above limitations:

1. Outline the model;
2. Develop the model;
3. Explore the model with respect to the substantive analysis of the primary level of Colombian education;
4. Analyse from the perspective of the model the fundamental principles and contradictions of the primary level of education;
5. Show the relations between Bernstein and Foucault within our view of the construction of a theory of Pedagogic discourse.

Bibliography

- Althusser, L. (1971) "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" in Cosin, B.R. (ed.) (1972), Education: Structure and Society, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books.
- Apple, W.A. (ed.) (1982) Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Atkinson, P. (1981) "Bernstein's Structuralism", Educational Analysis, Vol. 3, No. 1.
- Bernstein, B. (1974) Class, Codes and Control: Vol. 1, Theoretical Studies Towards a Sociology of Language, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bernstein, B. (1977) Class, Codes and Control: Vol. 3. Towards a Theory of Educational Transmissions, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bernstein, B. (1981) "Codes, Modalities and the Process of Cultural Reproduction: A Model", Anglo American Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1.
- Bernstein, B. (1982) "On the Circulation of Pedagogic Texts". Department of Educational Research, Stockholm Institute of Education.
- Bernstein, B., Seminars.
- Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J. (1977) Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture, London: Sage Publications Inc.
- Bowles, S. and Gintis, H. (1976) Schooling in Capitalist America, New York: Basic Books Inc.
- Durkheim, E. (1977) The Evolution of Educational Thought, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. (Originally published in 1938.)
- Hall, S. (1977) "Schooling, State and Society" in Dale, R. et al. (eds.) (1981), Schooling and the National Interest, Sussex: The Falmer Press.
- Halsey, A.H., Floud, J. and Anderson, C.A. (eds.) (1961) Education, Economy and Society, New York: Free Press.
- Hartnett, A. (ed.) (1982) The Social Sciences in Educational Studies: A Selected Guide to the Literature, London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd.
- Johnson, R. et al. (1981) Unpopular Education. Schooling and Social Democracy in England Since 1944, London: Hutchinson.

- Karabel, J. and Halsey, A.H. (eds.) (1977) Power and Ideology in Education, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Offe, C. and Ronge, V. (1975) "Theses on the Theory of the State" in Dale, R. et al. (1981), Schooling and the National Interest, Barcome: The Falmer Press.
- Poulantzas, N. (1978) State, Power and Socialism, London: NLB.
- Tyler, W.B. (1982) The Sociology of the School, A Review, Canterbury: Printed by the Reprographic Services of the Teachers' Centre.
- Waller, W. (1932) The Sociology of Teaching, New York: Wiley and Sons, Inc.
- Willis, P. (1977) Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs, Westmead: Saxon House.
- Wright, E.O. (1978) Class, Crisis and the State, London: NLB.
- Young, M.F.D. (ed.) (1971) Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education, London: Collier MacMillan.

CHAPTER TWO

ON DISCOURSE

In this chapter we will consider a set of provisional assumptions about discourse which we will use as the underlying support for our considerations to be presented in the following chapters with respect to those legitimised discourses which define the conditions of exercise of the practices of reproduction (through transmission-acquisition) of, and within, the educational system.

The difficulties in the study of discourse arise out of the polisemic character of this notion, owing to the different perspectives of analysis which have been essayed in modern studies. Maingueneau (1976) considers that the analysis of discourse manages with difficulty this object, "linguists and non-linguists make use of the concept discourse in an uncontrolled form", definitions vary from a restrictive notion of discourse which assimilate discourse to text, enunciation (Benveniste, 1974), transphrastic unit (Harris, 1952) to an extended notion which has given the possibility of analysing all social practices as a language, a discourse (Levi-Strauss, Barthes, Lacan, Greimas, among others).¹ From this perspective it is difficult to describe in this chapter the whole set of positions emerged within the field of the human sciences about discourse, and basically rooted in the "structuralist heritage" (Coward and Ellis, 1977) together with the different "readings" they have provided about "power relations"

1. For a critical discussion of the structural perspective of some of these authors see Coward and Ellis (1977); Sturrock (1979); Gluckman (1974); Robey (1973). Also, see Adlam et al. (1977).

between or within discourses (Bernstein, Foucault, Pecheux, Lacan, Althusser, Bourdieu), and about social practices (Barthes, Greimas, Kristeva). A general reflection about how "the distribution of power and principles of control between social groups is realised" (Bernstein, 1981:3) demands not only the thinking of the production/reproduction of the discursive device of reproduction, but also a general analysis about the intrinsic/extrinsic order of this device (its internal grammar of power/control).

The linguistic analysis of discourse which has its source in the Saussurean perspective equates the discourse notion with the realisations of language in speech (parole, hable, discourse), realisations in which the subject is considered to be the origin of the meanings.² Discourse is, in this way, studied as a linguistic unit longer than a phrase and the expression of a conscious subjectivity.³ Discourse

-
2. In this respect, Maingueneau argues: "On pourrait, a partir ... du Cours, montrer les hesitations de Saussure sur ce sujet mais l'important, c'est que l'opposition langue/parole a fini par devenir l'opposition entre un code homogene, un systeme de regles universelles et une liberte, une spontaneite qui echappent a toute regle L'opposition langue/parole risque en effect d'opposer le systematique (la langue) a l'individuel, au contingent (la parole), a l'autonomie d'un sujet parlant, sujet psychologique soumis a des passion, de besoins, etc." (Maingueneau, op. cit.:6) As the result of this opposition, the structure of language seems as to be mobilised in the individual speech (parole). In this way, the productivity of meaning from a system of differences is abandoned, and meaning can only be understood as what the individual intends. (For criticism of this position, see Coward and Ellis, 1977.)
 3. In this respect, Foucault argues that "the idea of the founding subject is a way of eliding the reality of discourse ... the founding subject is given the task of directly animating the empty forms of language with his aims." Foucault adds, "in a philosophy of the founding subject, in a philosophy of ordinary experience, ... discourse is no more than a play, of writing in the first case, of reading in the second, and of exchange in the third ... discourse is annulled in its reality and put at the disposal of the signifier" (Foucault, 1971, in Young, 1981:65-66).

could also be a set of contents referring to representations. It could be a sign taxonomy. Within this perspective, the analysis of discourse is divorced from the social conditions (power relations) which control its production and reproduction, and it is not possible to recognise neither the power-control relations which regulate its existence nor the power relations intrinsic to a discourse.

Here we will develop some notions about discourse which are not explicitly concerned with the linguistic point of view. We do not deny (in this position) the existence of a linguistic base of discursive processes.⁴ Another aspect to consider will be that of the intervention of discourse in the domain of practices (social practices). This relation gives rise to a set of questions about the work of discourse in different domains and on different objects, and also to a set of questions about the different discursive processes through which categories (objects and subjects) and practices are constituted and transformed.

To begin with, we consider that discourse is not an evident and concrete object to be apprehended by intuition. As Bernstein says, discourse is an abstract category, it is a result of a construction, of a production. It cannot be reduced to a simple realisation of the language. Every discursive process can be considered as a product of a complex network of social relations. Secondly, discourse cannot be reduced to the free intentions of a subject articulating meaning; the subject does not produce the sense freely, through the combination of units of language, endowed of a stable meaning, he is imbedded by

4. However, we think that not all processes and practices have a linguistic base, although they may be regarded as a discourse and analysed by linguistic models as discursive processes.

the discursive order in which he is positioned and positions his statements. This discursive order is intrinsic to, and is not isolated from, the demands of the non-discursive order (dominant social order) in which it is located and to which it reproduces.⁵

Then, against the illusion that the subject is the source of sense we consider that an analysis of discourse may be founded in assumptions about a non-subjective mode of production of meanings. From this perspective, discourse can be considered an autonomous category in relation to the consciousness or intention of the subjects it constitutes or recontextualises.

We also consider that discourse is a category in which subjects and objects are constituted. The constitution of subjects and objects are related to power and control relations.⁶ Power is imbedded in every discourse and, in turn, every discourse becomes a mechanism of power. When we think of discourses we can refer to them as a product of a social division of labour. This formulation expresses the process of social organisation of discourses which in modern societies has become more complex and specialised. The social division of labour also expresses the degree of specialisation of discourses, the acquisition of a specificity of each discourse and the production of specific boundaries.

5. We consider that the base on which discursive processes are developed is not related to the particular, isolated and individual expression of a subjectivity. In this sense, discourse, as Pecheux says, is not speech, that is, an individual and concrete manner of using the abstraction of the language. Discourse, we think, is more than the realisation of a linguistic function. See, Pecheux (1975); Woods (1977).

6. It is clear that we are not concerned with an analysis of the constitution of the subject.

As social discourses such as Pedagogic discourse have been produced as mechanisms of power and of symbolic control, for the positioning (repositioning) of subjects within specific orders,⁷ we can assume that the regime of their production implies specific social relations of production between agents, between discourses and between agents and discourses. It is important to note that the order of production of a discourse differs from the order it produces. Think, for example, of the difference between the macro institutional structures of production of Pedagogic discourse as such and the order it produces in the context of reproduction of educational knowledge, or on the relation between Pedagogic discourse and the pedagogic subject, as an ideological effect of Pedagogic discourse.

The production of an order, the constitution of a specific consciousness is the task of certain types of discourses. That is the case, for example, of Pedagogic discourse. This can be considered as a device of reproduction of specific consciousness through the production of specific rules, regulating specific social relations between specific categories such as transmitter and acquirer. The production of an order, by means of discourse, may be then determined by demarcation of the subjects together with their potential positions and social relations. Thus, for example, the production of specialised categories such as transmitter or acquirers, their positions and their practices may be first constituted and later regulated by the rules intrinsic to Pedagogic discourse. It is from this perspective that

7. We do not want to give the impression of a total imposition on the subject by the discourse, nor do we deny the importance of the subject's practices in the changing of the discourse. The relations between subject and discourse are rather dialectic than dichotomised.

we argue that discourse is a positioning and constituting, contextualising and recontextualising category of subjects and of potential social relations.

In modern societies the production of discourses has become more complex and more regulated. The regulation of what we have called the "practice of production of meanings" has become more explicit. This regulation depends on the power relations (between agents and discourses) constituted in the modality of production of each discourse, and on the power relations of their inter-relations.

We can consider that institutional discourses have specific constitutive and regulative functions. These constitutive functions consist of orientation of the subject to desired positions. Through the production of regulating enunciations with positioning functions, discourse becomes the support and the place of emergence of texts and practices realised as/in specific social relations. These texts become the realisations of the discourse and cannot be considered as a particular expression of a free subject. As realisation of discourse, the texts mediate specific social relations between subjects. From this perspective we argue that a text is never exterior to a discourse, and its production does not come from a subject exterior to the discourse. In other words, there exist no practices without subjects, and there exist no subjects without discourses and texts.

In Bernstein and Foucault, we can find a set of important arguments about discourse, on which we base our own considerations. They run over the linguistic frame and integrate the discourse concept into a closer relation with the domain of social sciences. We will introduce some of their considerations separately.

The Archaeology of Knowledge provides a set of considerations whereby the problem of discourse can be analysed.⁸ This text attempts to present a new definition about discourse. There is in Foucault's Archaeology a rejection of the definition of discourse as it is given by the history of ideas, that sees discourse as a product of psychological subjects. Foucault's notion of discourse is related to that of discursive formation: "We shall call discourse, a group of statements in so far as they belong to the same discursive formation" (1972:117). A discursive formation is for Foucault a regularity or a system of dispersion between a number of enunciates. A discursive formation can be individualised on the basis of a complex set of rules called "rules of formation". These rules are the conditions of existence of the elements of a discursive formation which according to Foucault are "objects, modalities of enunciation, concepts, thematic choices" (ibid.:38).⁹

Concerning the objects of discourse, Foucault makes clear that these cannot be analysed by reference to material referents. Discourse, in his view, is not about objects. It is necessary "to substitute for the enigmatic treasure of 'things' anterior to discourse, the regular formation of objects that emerge only in discourse. To define these objects without reference to the ground, the foundation of things, but by relating them to the body of rules that enable them to form

8. See Foucault, M. (1972), Parts II and III.

9. Basic to Foucault is the problem of the individualisation of discourses. He establishes specific criteria which can be the basis for the individualisation of a discourse. These are, criteria of formation, criteria of correlation and criteria of transformation. The analysis of these criteria can be found in "Politics and the Study of the Discourse" (1978).

as objects of a discourse ..." (ibid.:47-48). Then, it is the discourse which in its practice constitutes its object. Foucault raises the discourse to the status of a practice, a discursive practice "that systematically forms the objects of which it speaks" (ibid.:49).

The problem of the subject constitutes, In Foucault, another crucial problem. The treatment of the subject in the Archaeology of Knowledge is not concerned with any category of the individual person. In the chapter "The Formation of the Enunciative Modalities", Foucault analyses the problem of enunciation in relation to the positions of the subject. Enunciation is considered there as a discursive activity supported and constituted by a system of institutionalised mechanisms, statuses and different positions assigned to the subject in the discourse, (the relations discursive formation-institution play a very important role in Foucault's Archaeology). From this perspective, it is possible to consider that the various forms of speech (or practices) which are possible within a given discourse do not refer to an original, unified subject but are defined according to the regularities of the discourse which regulate the sites and positions of subjects.¹⁰

The subject for Foucault is constituted by a dispersion of statuses, sites, and positions "he can occupy or be given when making

10. For Foucault, the subject of a linguistic statement is general "in so far as it can be filled by virtually any individual when he formulates the statement; and in so far as one and the same individual may occupy in turn, in the same series of statements, different positions and assume the role of different subjects" (1972:93-94). From this perspective, the enunciation of a statement is not dependent on a particular subject as its source or origin but on the "existence of a number of effective operations that need not have been performed by one and the same individual" (ibid.). The subject, using Bernstein's metaphor, becomes, in this way, a vessel of discourse and power.

a discourse." The subject is constituted within the discontinuity of planes from which he speaks. In Foucault's version the discourse is not the expression of a subject, it is the site of the dispersion of the subject and the system in which the discontinuity of the subject can be registered. The discourse is not the place where pure subjectivity erupts; it is a space of positions and of differentiated functions for subjects" (Foucault, 1972).¹¹

What is important to retain from this analysis is the concern with the positions of the subject within the discourse and the mode of localisation and circulation of discourses in society. This gives rise to the problems of the status, the conditions of exercise, of functioning, of the institutionalising of specific discourses and also to the analysis of the relations between the political practice and the discursive field.

Basic to Foucault is the analysis of the relations between discourse and power, that is, how discursive practices are constituted. Specific rules lie behind the formation of discourses (formation, transformation, correlation) (Foucault, 1978); these rules are linked to the exercise of power. In every society, Foucault (1971) writes: "the production of discourse is controlled, organised, redistributed by a number of procedures." In his view, there are a number of procedures for the control of discourse, such as the social procedures of

11. It has been considered that Foucault's understanding of discursive subject positions can lead to the assumption that discourse constructs passive and unresisting subjects, who are only interpellated within the discursive realm. (See Weedon *et al.*, 1980.) However, it is possible to associate these discursive position to power relations and their intrinsic potential resistances.

exclusion, prohibition, division and distinction (between true and false). Concerning this latter, Foucault considers that there is a whole institutional base on which truth operates: the educational system (pedagogy), the distribution of information, the publishing of books, the values set by different social systems on different forms of knowledge. These systems of control operate from outside of the discourse.¹²

Other procedures operate, rather, from within the discourse itself, "discourses themselves exercise their own control" through principles such as the commentary, the author, the discipline. There exists a third group of procedures that control the discourse, these concern the conditions on which discourses are reproduced, the imposition of certain rules on individuals who hold them and the restrictions on access to discourses. These procedures operate as a "rarefaction of the speaking subjects", either by defining the rituals (qualifications, gestures, behaviour) by preserving the production of discourse to "societies of discourse", by binding individuals to certain types of enunciation through the "Doctrines", or by controlling the social appropriation of discourse, that is, by excluding (as expressed in "Au dela du bien et du mal", 1971a) those who have not right to knowledge, or that have right only to a part of knowledge.

12. When referring to the knowledge distributed by the educational system, Foucault considers that this knowledge implies a political conformity, which functions through the means of exclusion/inclusion. There is a demand, in his view, to know a determined set of things, against those which cannot be known. Then, the official knowledge, he says, "always has represented the political power as the focus of the struggle within a social class (aristocracy vs. bourgeoisie). The knowledge of other classes, such as the working class always has been rejected; it does not enter in the "reserved circle of knowledge" (Foucault, 1971a).

From this latter perspective, Foucault (1971) considers that "any system of education is a way of maintaining or modifying the appropriation of discourses, along with the knowledge and powers they carry."

Thus, the procedures for the control of discourse do not exist in isolation: "What, after all, is an educational system, other than a ritualisation of speech, a qualification and a fixing of the roles for the speaking subjects, the constitution of a doctrinal group, however diffuse, a distribution and an appropriation of discourse within its powers and knowledge?" (*ibid.*).

Another important aspect in Foucault's analysis is the study of the dependencies which the transformation of a discursive formation undergoes. These dependencies can be intradiscursive dependencies (between objects, operations and concepts of a single formation), interdiscursive dependencies (between different discursive formations) and extradiscursive dependencies (between a discursive formation and the non-discursive fields, such as the political practice). (See Foucault, 1978.)

Then, for Foucault, discourses not only exhibit intrinsic principles of regularity, and individualisation, they are also controlled by regulations enforced, as Gordon (1980) says, through social practices of appropriation, control and 'policing'. From this perspective, discourses derive, not from the subject but from the power relations that invest them.¹³ From Discipline and Punish (1977) Part III, it is possible

13. An interesting critical review of this (and other) positions has been realised by Sheridan (1980), Dreyfus and Rabinow (1982), Lemert and Gillan (1982).

to abstract some ideas about Foucault's work on forms of social regulation of individuals as "objects of power". By focusing on the body, as an object of power, discipline has established its modalities of coercion, and of production of "subjected ... and docile bodies", through the control of time, space and movement. In the first place, discipline organises an "analytical space", the "functional sites", the modalities of organisation of individuals in space (cells, places, ranks); second, it controls the activity in time, through the definition of the "time-table", "the temporal elaboration of the act" (pedagogic discourse will give examples later; see chapter concerning pedagogic discourse), "the posture of the individual" (relation body-gesture, or body-object articulation); third, it creates a disciplinary time for training of individuals (programmes, stages, etc.). Finally, discipline produces different modalities of articulation of individuals and systems of command (control).

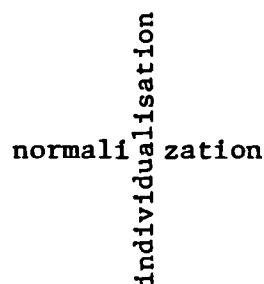
Foucault, himself, sums up the activity of discipline by considering that "discipline creates out of the bodies it controls ... an individuality that is endowed with four characteristics: it is cellular (by the play of spatial distribution), it is genetic (by accumulation by time), it is organic (by coding of activities), it is combinatory (by the composition of forces), (1977:167).

For Foucault, the main function of discipline is to train individuals, to make "individuals"; these are the object of its power to which specific coercive modalities are applied.

Foucault characterises the role of discipline by the means of normalisation. The power of normalisation imposes homogeneity but "it individualises by making it possible to measure gaps, to determine levels, to fix specialities and to render the differences useful by

fitting them to one another" (1977:184-208). Then, while normalisation introduces a system of formal equality which apparently shades individual differences, individualisation objectively separates and ranks individuals. Individual differences become relevant through the means of evaluation: "The examination is at the centre of procedures that constitutes the individual as effect and object of power, as effect and object of knowledge ... it is the individual as he may be described, judged, measured, compared with others, in his very individuality; and it is also the individual who has to be trained, corrected, classified, normalised, excluded, etc." (1977:191-192). From this perspective discipline is a modality of power for which individual difference is relevant.

We could represent the relations established by Foucault between normalisation and individualisation on two axis which could be considered the horizontal and vertical features of discipline.



Thus, the construction of subjects in discipline imply their subjection to the principle of "normalisation"/"individualisation". This implies that the subject is placed in a passive position with respect to discourse/practices. To some extent in Foucault's view, the subject becomes the principle of his own subjection.

From "Codes, Modalities and the Process of Cultural Reproduction: A Model" (Bernstein, 1981), it is possible to infer important principles

for the analysis of the discourse and of the positioning of the subject, although Bernstein is not directly concerned with the analysis of discourse, (with a theory of discourse).

Bernstein's propositions present, in our view, the possibility of production of a particular theory of discourse in relation to his general theory about codes. Codes would regulate, according to Bernstein, "the class reproduction and production of discursive resources" (1981:11). Discourse appears in Bernstein's view as a product of the social division of labour of categories implied in its production (whether these are agents or discourses), and their corresponding social relations. We must note here that, for Bernstein, the social categories (agents or discourses) are constituted by social division of labour, and the practices are constituted in the social relations (see Figure 4).

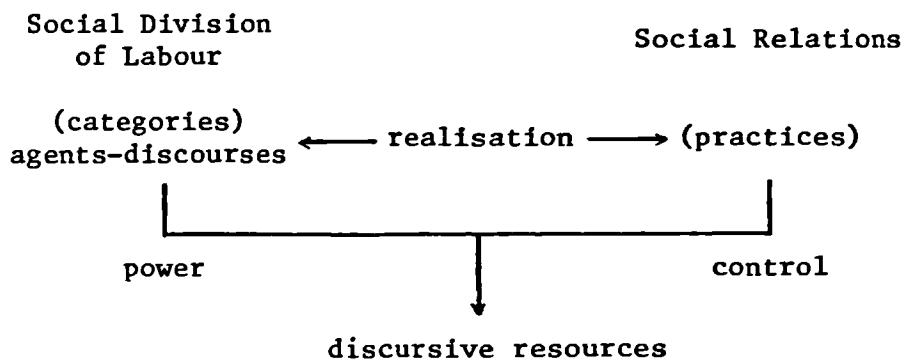


Figure 4

Bernstein's analysis of categories and practices rests on two fundamental regulating principles, one regulating the relations between categories, and the other regulating the communicative practices of the social relations between the categories. These principles are better

known as classification and framing. The principle of classification regulates the insulation between the categories (1981:12) and it is the means of production of the specific identity of the categories. In turn, the principle of classification would be "created, maintained, reproduced and legitimised by insulation maintenance". Thus, for example, it is the principle of classification which regulates the power relations between discourses and between subjects by maintaining different degrees of insulation between them.¹⁴

The framing principle concerns the regulation of the communicative practices within the categories. More specifically, framing regulates the variations in the principles of communication. Framing always refers to communication and more clearly to variations of the modalities of control.

For Bernstein the modality of the code is given by the values of classification and framing. The values of classification and framing can vary independently of each other (1981:27). The codes, in turn, would be positioning devices of subjects: "Subjects are differentially positioned by these codes in the process of their acquisition" (ibid.:4). This positioning is for Bernstein an ideological positioning.

According to Bernstein, practices are realisations of categories. "The practice can be regarded as the message of the category and is the means of its acquisition" (ibid.:12). The message is considered

14. The principle of classification by creating the identity of the discourse, in relation to other discourses, would create the specific identity of the subject and, in turn, this identity would reproduce the power relations between subjects, through the principle of classification.

to be the text, that is, "the form of the social relationships made visible, palpable, material" (ibid.:6).

For Bernstein, every category (whether subject or discourse) "entails specialised voices". The voice belongs to the fundamental grammar acquired or internalised. If could be, in our view, the ideological effect inherent in any discursive order, constituted in terms of a grammar of generation of new texts (messages).

The subject, for Bernstein, is a dialectical relation between the voice (discourse) and the message. The voice entails categories and it can be considered the mark put by the relation subject/discourse in the process of his/her legitimation or regulation. In this sense, Bernstein considers that "the message is dependent upon voice." The voice (of a discourse) "sets the limits of what can be a legitimate messages." Nobody acquires the voice (of a discourse) without being positioned in a discourse by the classificatory principle. There are no individual voices but discursive voices. Bernstein says that "the positioning of the subject creates the "voice" but not the specific message". There are no subjects without voice.

Interpreting Bernstein we could say that the acquisition of the voice can be achieved through the positioning of the individual in a set of social relations supported and/or regulated by discourse(s). This positioning transforms the individual into a specialised category, with a specialised voice, and enables the subject to realise his social relations of communication. From this perspective the voice determines the subject by limiting what can be a legitimate message (1981:16). The voice, then, would be not a set of contents, meanings, or representations, it would be a grammar of production of meanings. To some extent, the voice would be the ideology imbedded in the social practices.

If the realisation of the voice (ideology?) is experienced as real, in the form of actions, attitudes, and practices of the subject, the acquisition of the voice becomes a subjective, unconscious and imperceptible operation dominated by what sociologically has been described as "socialisation".¹⁵

The messages, in Bernstein, can be considered as realisation of the voice (subject/discourse) established by the power relations. The message depends and is regulated by the voice of the discourse, but is also the source of change of the discursive voice. This means that the power relations inherent in the discourse (voice) limit the range of realisations of the communication. Given that the subject is not autonomous in producing his/her messages (although he/she appears as such), in realising his/her practices he/she is determined by the discourse(s) in which he/she is positioned (by the classificatory principle) and in which he/she acquires the voice. From this perspective, we can say that the power relations intrinsic to a discourse are present in the social relations in which every discourse is realised.

It is clear that we cannot find in Bernstein a developed theory of discourse as it can be found in Foucault. Bernstein is not directly concerned with a theory of discourse. Discourse in his perspective appears to be a symbolic resource (material, of course) produced by the social division of labour and its intrinsic social relations. But,

15. In the same way, if the message is experienced (lived) as individual, or as the product of a particular consciousness, it is because of the imaginary relations individuals create in relation to discourses. What is considered to be the voice of the discourse is lived as the voice of the individual.

as we have seen, for Bernstein, each discourse entails its own voice, which becomes later the voice of the subject/discourse (the / means, support). It also entails in the messages it regulates its potential contradictions as sources of changes.

Bernstein's use of the discourse notion entails the notion of discursive practice. This notion would constitute the macro dimension of the general category of meanings, which integrate any code. Discourse, from this perspective, would be considered, not as a set of meanings related to representations or to static referents, but as a social practice of production of classification of meanings, or a practice which systematically form the objects of which it speaks, that is, its categories. Discourse would be a general practice of regulation of texts. Objects, concepts, and their formed theories would constitute the domain of the discursive practice, in other words, the domain of the discourse.

The concept of code is of fundamental importance if we want to develop a theory of discourse in Bernstein. This notion gives the foundations for the analysis of the macro relations of the production-distribution of meanings, realisations and contexts; that is, for the analysis of particular discourses, practices and organisational sites. Code would be, from this perspective, paraphrasing Bernstein, the regulator of the what and how of a discursive practice: "What meanings may be legitimately put together and how these meanings may be legitimately realised." This assumption will be the source of the differences between "Pedagogic discourse" and "pedagogic practice".

Now, we can assume, on the basis of Bernstein's formulation, the existence of an articulated relation between the macro and the micro relations generated by the code. The analysis of these relations (or

dimensions) will serve to clarify the subsequent relations between the elements proposed in our model of analysis of the production of pedagogic codes, which will be described later.

From the pedagogic dimension - our own concern - the correlative elements of the micro relations of the code are: the discursive practice (Pedagogic discourse), the pedagogic practice (pedagogic realisations) and organisational sites (organisational practice) (Bernstein, Seminars).

<u>Micro Relations</u>	<u>Macro Relations</u> (pedagogic dimension of the code)
relevant meaning realisations context	Pedagogic discourse pedagogic practice organizational sites

We can read the above figure in the following way: Pedagogic discourse controls the meanings to be realised in the pedagogic practice through the regulation of the subjects' positions and social relations performed in the institutional organised context of the educational system such as the 'context of reproduction'. Thus, the code, from the pedagogic dimension, integrates Pedagogic discourse, pedagogic practice and organisational sites, or, in other words, a pedagogic code may be considered the inter-relation within and between discourse, practices and sites, together with their contradictions.

A theory of pedagogic reproduction must, then, integrate the relations between discourse(s), practice(s) and site(s), their conditions

of production and realisation, determined by the principles of the social division of labour and its intrinsic social relations.

We have distinguished in this section some points of analysis in relation to discourse. In the first place, we examined discourse not in terms of a particular and individual consciousness, which makes the subject the originator of meanings and representations, as it has been in the tradition within the linguistic perspective. We argued, on the contrary, that discourse is a category (using Bernstein's terms) in which every subject is constituted or (re)-positioned. From this perspective, we considered that discourse as a category embodies the power and control relations, generated by the principles of the social division of labour and its intrinsic social relations. In support of this idea of the production of meanings, as a consequence of positions generated in the discursive formations in which the subject is constituted, we examined some of the contributions made by Foucault, and Bernstein's contributions to a theory of discourse governed by the concept of code. Bernstein's methodological principles presented in terms of interdependent relations such as discourse-practice, voice-message, become in his analysis, fundamental consequences of the power-control relations generated by the social division of labour and its intrinsic social relations. Within this view, we formulated the assumption that a theory of pedagogic reproduction must integrate the relations between discourses, practices and sites which as constitutive elements of the context of reproduction of educational discourse integrate the political, social, institutional, technical and theoretical conditions of reproduction/transformation of the social relations relevant to the field of production and to the modalities of symbolic control. These conditions of reproduction and transformation of social relations are articulated in the dominant Pedagogic discourse, and its dominant grammar which celebrates a given distribution of power.

Bibliography

- Adlam, D. et al. (1977) "Psychology, Ideology and the Human Subject", Ideology and Consciousness, No. 1, pp. 5-56.
- Benveniste, E. (1974) Problemes de Linguistique Generale, Vol. II, Paris: Gallimard.
- Bernstein, B. (1981) "Codes, Modalities and the Process of Cultural Reproduction: A Model", Anglo American Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1.
- Bernstein, B., Seminars.
- Coward, R. and Ellis, J. (1977) Language and Materialism: Developments in Semiology and the Theory of the Subject, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Dreyfus, H.L. and Rabinow, P. (1982) Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics, Brighton: The Harvester Press Ltd.
- Foucault, M. (1971) "The Order of Discourse" in Young, R. (ed) (1981) Untying the Text, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Foucault, M. (1971a) "Au dela du bien et du mal", Actuel, No. 14.
- Foucault, M. (1972) The Archaeology of Knowledge, London: Tavistock Publications. (Originally published in French in 1969.)
- Foucault, M. (1977) Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books. (Originally published in French in 1975.)
- Foucault, M. (1978) "Politics and the Study of Discourse", Ideology and Consciousness, Spring 1978 (3). (Originally published in French in 1968.)
- Gluckman, M. (1974) Structuralist Analysis in Contemporary Social Thought, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Gordon, C. (ed.) (1980) Michel Foucault: Power/Knowledge, Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977, Brighton: The Harvester Press Ltd.
- Harris, Z. (1952) "Discourse Analysis", Language, No. 28, pp. 1-30.
- Lemert, C. and Gillan, G. (1982) Michel Foucault: Social Theory and Transgression, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Maingueneau, D. (1976) Initiation aux methodes de l'Analyse du Discours, Paris: Hachette.

Pêcheux, M. (1975) Les Verites de la Palice, Paris: Maspero.

Robey, D. (ed.) (1973) Structuralism: An Introduction, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sheridan, A. (1980) Michel Foucault: The Will to Truth, London: Tavistock Publications.

Sturrock, J. (ed.) (1979) Structuralism and Since: From Levi Strauss to Derrida, London: Oxford University Press.

Weedon, C. et al. (1980) "Theories of Language and Subjectivity" in Hall, S. et al. (eds.), Culture, Media and Language, London: Hutchinson.

Woods, R. (1977) "Discourse Analysis: The Work of Michel Pêcheux", Ideology and Consciousness, No. 2, Autumn 1977.

CHAPTER THREE

DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODEL (I)

Dominant Principles (General Regulative Discourse)

Dominant principles refer to the general power and control relations, articulated through, and legitimated by (but not necessarily confined to) the various agencies of the State which are the means by which a general order of the universe of categories, practices and relations is reproduced and developed. It should be very clear that the discussion which follows is necessarily brief and abstract. We are concerned here only to distinguish formally a level of discourse which is a consequence of dominating principles in more explicit terms. This section does not attempt to be comprehensive or exhaustive, but has the limiting aim of defining one of our major terms.

In our view, dominant principles are explicitly embodied in the various discourses of the arena of the State, its various ideologies and agencies. One of the functions of the State discourses is to reproduce and legitimate the dominant principles fundamental to the reproduction of the dominant cultural categories and dominant social relations within the field of production and within the field of symbolic control. This means that when dominant principles, as regulative principles, enter the organisation of the State (and the organisation of the field of production and symbolic control) the State, in turn, through its specific agencies and practices plays a crucial role in the reproduction/conservation of the dominant principles (power and control relations).

We should make it clear that we are restricting the term General Regulative Discourse (GRD) to official discourses of the State, as this is realised in its legal and administrative texts which are concerned with order, relation and identity. We are, of course, aware that the organisation of the principles of consensus and assent are not limited to the realisations only of GRD but include hegemonic agencies external to the State (see, for example, Gouldner, 1976 : Ch.7).

The State attempts to reproduce its dominant principles through specific discourses and practices whose main function is to serve as a substratum for the creation within a particular society of what can be called the organisation of the consensus.¹ In other words, one essential condition for the establishment, maintenance and reproduction of the dominant principles (DP) is the organisation, maintenance and legitimation of the consensus among the different social groups constituting a specific society with respect to the relations within and between social groups. The legitimation and reproduction of the "consensus" is realised by special agencies - either within the State or within the field of symbolic control - whose function is to transform the contradictions between the different social groups into

-
1. Several approaches note the difference between "consensus" and "contradiction". Thus, a functionalist approach tends to conceive society in terms of the functional interdependence or coherence of its parts. Marxist perspectives share in some way this approach with functionalism, in the sense that it also sees society as a "whole", a unity, or a totality, but this unity is maintained and reproduced through contradictions, conflicts and domination. In essence, for functionalism, order is assumed and it is conflict which is problematic; for marxism, contradiction and conflict are assumed, it is the maintenance of order (dominant principles, in our view) which is problematic. See, Hall, S. (1977); Strasser and Randall (1981).

"consensus" through the legitimization of specific ideologies, discourses and practices.²

It is important to note, here, that the organisation/regulation of the consensus (around the dominant principles) within a specific society is realised at the level of the everyday practices, but are, especially the province of the different agencies of symbolic control. Within these agencies the DP become imbedded both in their structure and in the level of their inter-actional practices in what we could call "the process of normalisation".³

The discourses produced and practices realised by the State and especially, but not limited to, the agencies of symbolic control are the means of reproduction of the dominant consensus, which constitute, in our view, the material basis for the legitimization of the dominant principles. This means that there exists no one unified discourse but several discourses both orthodox and heterodox together with their ideologies and practices which support the consensus around the dominant principles. Thus, the discourses/practices produced within the organisational frame of the State may differ from the discourses/practices produced within the agencies of symbolic control.⁴ However,

-
2. Following Bourdieu in his Outline of a Theory of Practice (English translation, 1977) we shall note that any consensus is a consensus about what counts as legitimate orthodox and heterodox positions which do not threaten doxa. What becomes important is the range of different positions restricted by the dominant principles. See, pp. 159-171.
 3. See Foucault (1977:170-194).
 4. The State discourse reproduces the notion of the unitary legal subject (Burton and Carlen, 1979), that is, the juridical political person, who is the subject of certain freedoms. This ideology sets agents up as individual subjects, free and equal, and presents them as it were in a pre-social state, and so defines the specific isolation of social relations. The discourse of the State is the discourse of natural rights which appear as a neutral discourse (Gintis, 1980).

this is not the place to specify those differences. What is important to retain here is the regulative character of these discourses/practices.

We propose to group all these discourses under a macro-category called General Regulative Discourse (GRD). GRD would have as its main objective the establishment and definition of a dominant order, relation and identity through the ideology(ies) it embodies and the practices it regulates for the constitution of the general modalities of consensus of the society. Thus, the dominant principles define the specific modalities of the realisation of GRD which in turn sets the limits of legitimate regulative practices.⁵

General Regulative Discourse is realised essentially through the texts and practices generated in the political, administrative and legal system of the State and especially infused in, and reproduced by, the agencies of symbolic control. We must emphasise that GRD sets the limits on the arena in which positions of development, of conflict and of change can be realised. Thus, for example, in modern societies (advanced capitalism in the twentieth century) demands (class demands) and conflicts have become shaped by GRD and its strategies. GRD has provided the common frame within which conflicts around the distribution of power or modalities of control must be realised. However, GRD is

-
5. GRD attempts in its realisation to legitimate what we can call vertical and horizontal relations of a given society. Vertical relations refer essentially to the principles of social stratification which regulate the relations between social groups according to a given distribution of power and principles of control. GRD here attempts to legitimate differences, essentially those differences created by the distribution of power between social groups. Horizontal relations refer to the principles which establish fundamental communalities, for example, nationality, citizenship, collective responsibility, brotherhood, patriotism, etc. GRD here attempts to create the similar among the different.

not necessarily a homogeneous discourse as imbedded in it may well be a range of competing and conflicting ideologies which are the source of its change. Although GRD represents Official Regulative Discourse and sets the limits of legitimate discourse, it may also have to take into account those regulative discourses which it excludes.

One pedagogic effect of GRD would be the creation within a specific society of collective representations (national unity, national solidarity, patriotic models, religious unity, national pride) and the reproduction of notions such as liberty, freedom, justice, equality, right, democracy, property, nation, patriotism, citizenship, God/man together with the range and limits of practices. This celebrates the consensus and attempts to legitimate consent for the distribution of dominating power and control relations.⁶ In other words, the distribution of legitimate power and control relations would be realised through GRD together with its different kinds of practices and ideologies. A second effect of GRD would be that all specific regulative discourses (SRDs) would be subordinated to its principles.

We shall present some brief conclusions: At an abstract level:

1. We have distinguished the dominant principles (DP) from the means of their reproduction. The dominant principles concern the power/control relations. The means of their reproduction concerns GRD/practices.

6. The sociology of education has placed much more emphasis upon what we have called the vertical relations and neglected the horizontal relations. The anti-racist and feminist pedagogic movements have made problematic the assumptions of GRD with respect to horizontal relations.

2. GRD may be considered as the material (political and ideological substratum) of the dominant principles. It embodies the dominant principles it reproduces.
3. The essential features of GRD are found in official State discourse but its reproduction is realised through a diverse range of agencies and discourses especially in, but not only limited to, the agencies of symbolic control.

The following figure (Figure 5) schematises the above relations in a simple way:

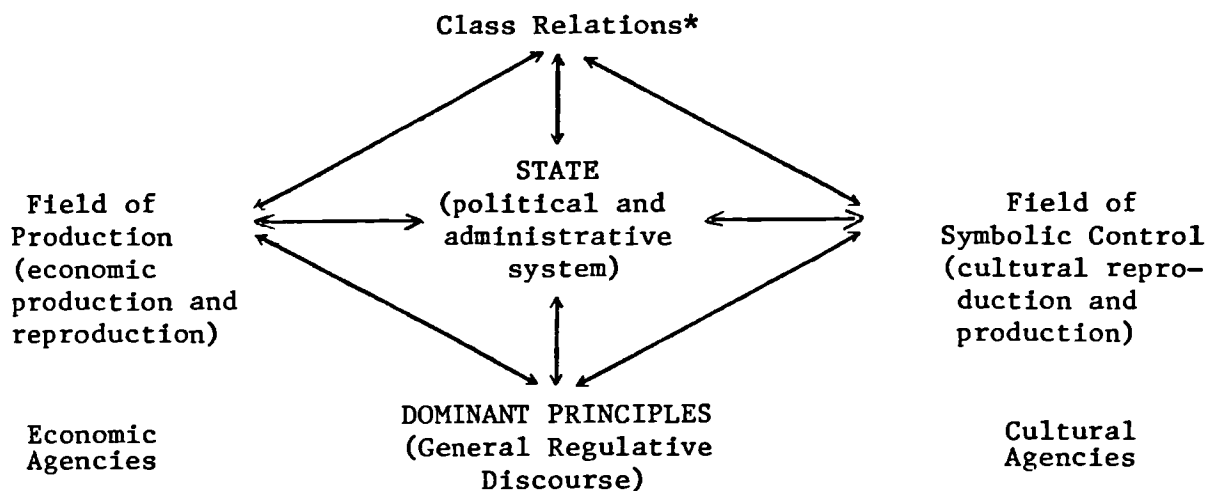


Figure 5

* The dominant principles may not necessarily be those of class relations.

Official Pedagogic Discourse (OPD)

The agencies of the State produce specific legislation, regulations, which become the legal discursive apparatus of legitimation and regulation of the school universe. This legal discursive apparatus together with its administrative texts maintain legal and political control over

agents, agencies, practices and discourses required for the reproduction of the culture of the school and the production of specific consciousness. As we shall see, States differ in the degree of autonomy they permit its location and condition. We shall call this legitimating apparatus, Official discourse. It can be considered as the discursive practice through which the State's power and control are exercised. It celebrates the dominant principles and it may be considered the means of positioning forms of pedagogic subjectivity (Burton and Carlen, 1979),⁷ which is in turn celebrated in its texts.

We start our analysis by saying that Official Pedagogic Discourse (OPD) can be considered as a realisation of the power relations inherent in the State's political practices. Official Pedagogic Discourse can be considered as the effect of the work of the State's political practices over discourses, practices and social relations. This means that the political practice of the State transforms the mode of existence and the mode of functioning of discourses, practices and social relations.⁸ Thus, with respect to education, the organisational structure within and between levels, the temporal and spatial extension of pedagogising in the life space, the relocation of the child into pupil, of pupil into worker, the pedagogising of the home, the specialisation of the curricula to levels and social groups, the selection and legitimisation of theories of transmission, acquisition and evaluation, all may well reveal different degrees of the penetration (policing,

7. Burton and Carlen (1979) consider that "the ideological practices of Official discourse place, fix and orient subjects to desired positions."

8. See Foucault (1978).

that is, the expansion of power) of official discourse in different societies into education.⁹

Although we cannot be concerned here with the origins, history and specific nature of Official Pedagogic Discourse, it is clear that it takes different forms of realisation, that is, different forms for its transmission and manipulation. It can take the form of formal and strictly regulating texts with a codified and normative system of enunciation, as in the case of legislative regulations, decrees, resolutions, laws, etc. It can be organised in terms of a series of descriptive enunciates, articulating different kinds of objects, concepts and theories (knowledge transformed by political practice) which become the legitimate or the official position as in the case of the institutionalising of pedagogic texts, such as guides, units, programmes, reports, etc., which demarcate and fix the limits to a pedagogic modality of reproduction. This means that the types of registers which support the existence of Official Pedagogic Discourse are heterogeneous, and also will vary with the political regime of a social formation.

As we can see, Official Pedagogic Discourse (official discourse on education) is realised through different textual registers embodying a complex set of discourses, productions which are fundamental for the organisation and construction of the normalised/normalising order of

9. Other examples of policing less concerned with education can be given by the production of what are called "legal relations" between individuals, through which class categories and social relations are delocated and abstracted from their socio-historical complexity and relocated into individual categories (the 'unitary legal subject' as called by Burton and Carlen, *op. cit.*, or the "individuals" as called by Poulantzas (1978:Chapter 2) and individual social relations. This abstraction permits a greater power concentration and control. Thus, policing may take the form of welfaring. Also see, Donzelot (1980) and Gouldner (1970: Chapter 9).

the educational system. Official Pedagogic Discourse constitutes the active, but not necessarily the only, mechanism through which social relations between agents, discourses, practices and contexts are established and legitimised.

Official Pedagogic Discourse has as a function to produce and legitimate the general institutional conditions required for the regularising of the practices of symbolic control within education and the maintenance of systemic relations by education.¹⁰ Essential for the establishment, maintenance and reproduction of specific educational practices of symbolic control is the organisation of the pedagogic space of reproduction, the regulation of its specialised discourses and the constitution of its agents and their social relations.

In our view, Official Pedagogic Discourse not only celebrates the dominant principles but it also legitimates the dominant culture of the school, specific modes of acquisition, and, through this, specific modes of reasoning.¹¹ In this sense we can say that the dominant ideological objective of Official discourse on education is to place, fix and orient subjects to desired positions (Burton and Carlen, 1979): the positions created and maintained by the dominant principles. Examples of these desired positions can be given in the official objectives of many centralised educational systems as in Colombia, France or Sweden.

10. Systemic relations refer to the relations between the outputs of education and its potential for the realisation of physical and discursive resources in other contexts (Bernstein, 1977, 1981).

11. OPD legitimises those discourses which it appropriates, relocates and ideologically re-positions. A good example of this process is IQ measurement and its underlying theories, and theories of instruction derived from Piaget or Skinner (see Bruner, 1966). It leads to the development of such discourses through the circulation of research funds. It is important to note that the recontextualising process is not simply parasitic but it also acts upon the discourses it selects.

It seems to us that the basic function of Official Pedagogic Discourse must be recognised as that of the exercise of power. This function is essentially realised in the discursive predetermination of patterns of behaviour (reinforcing existing norms, changing old norms, and producing new norms); in the recognition and legitimation of all the instruments or means of organisation of the social work of reproduction of the school culture (academic and administrative - agents, discourses, and practices), and in the legitimation and institutionalisation of specific sites for the realisation of pedagogic practices. The norms produced can be regarded as the social instrument for the legitimation and institutionalisation of agents and practices in school. In this sense, associated with the normative character of the State (Poulantzas, 1978; Burton and Carlen, op. cit.) OPD produces what can be called "the legal aspect of the pedagogic universe" (discourses, practices, contexts). This official dimension of the educational system contributes to preserve the established device of reproduction of the culture of the school through the provision of the legitimate framework and the limits within which educational agencies can operate and within which the reproduction of the dominating principles may be realised. This legal dimension stands at the basis of the political power of the State, and basically reproduces the power relations between the State and the educational system.

Official Pedagogic Discourse necessarily must produce a selective principle whereby contents, discourses are selected to be pedagogised. This, in turn, entails a selection of discourses regulating transmission, acquisition and evaluation. OPD, then, must select both the discourses to be transmitted and discourses regulating the principles of their transmission/acquisition, or, at least, set limits. In other words, OPD either selects or sets limits to the selection of the "what" and the "how".

OPD and the Recontextualising Process

The operation by which discourses belonging to different contexts become delocated/relocated into the pedagogic space may be called, appropriating Bernstein, recontextualising. This operation has been defined by Bernstein (1977, 1981:43) as "the movement of the texts/practices from the primary context of discursive production to the secondary context of discursive reproduction." Here we are only concerned with the operation we arbitrarily call "official recontextualising".

Official recontextualising occurs when a text or texts belonging to a specific discourse or discourses are selectively delocated/relocated and inserted into new official texts. These new texts incorporate objects, themes, statements and theories previously recognised and ideologically selected. We can add that these new texts produced are/must be in correspondence with definite political ideologies and specific political objectives and decisions. Once the new texts have been produced (have been recontextualised)¹² they provide a vindication for the implementation of given findings into policy decisions (Burton and Carlen, 1979), and for the regulation of pedagogic space. We must make clear that official recontextualising does not provide only regulations. It also provides the outer limits of what can go into the context of reproduction, that is, what can enter into the pedagogic space. A good example of this is given by the Pedagogic Agencies of the State in Colombia (specific recontextualising agencies responsible for the organisation of the curriculum, syllabuses, didactic guides, units, under the authority of the State).

12. According to Bernstein, power and control are made substantive in the symbolic structure realised and imbedded in the recontextualised texts (Bernstein, 1977:32).

The recontextualising practice is carried out within a specific context called "recontextualising context which structures a field or sub-set of fields, whose positions, agents and practices ... regulate the circulation of texts between primary and secondary context" (Bernstein, 1981:43).¹³ For our purposes, we will restrict our study to the direct Recontextualising agencies of the State, whose function is to produce specific official texts.

We recognise that the recontextualising agencies of the State even if they are in the last instance the crucial pedagogic definers, are not necessarily the only agencies nor the only field. Although States vary in the extent to which they will permit recontextualising fields other than themselves to play an effective role in the circulation of texts/practices they always define the outer limits within which texts/practices can circulate and become institutionalised in different levels of the educational system. Some levels may be given more autonomy than others. It is possible to have recontextualising fields which are specialised to specific levels (pre-school, primary school, secondary, tertiary) and to curriculum ("less able", vocational).

-
13. In Bernstein's view the recontextualising contexts entails a number of fields such as:
- a. specialised departments and sub-agencies of the State and local educational authorities of the State together with their research and system of inspectors;
 - b. university departments of education, and similar institutions together with their research;
 - c. specialised media of education, weeklies, journals, etc. and publishing houses together with their readers and advisers;
 - d. fields not specialised in educational discourse but able to exert influence in the recontextualising process.

(See Bernstein, 1981:43. Also see Bernstein, 1982.)

Here, in this thesis, all that we can do is to show formally the function of the concept in the model we are attempting to develop. In the second part of the thesis, where we will apply our model, we shall find that the Colombian State has the monopoly over the re-contextualising agencies of education.

We can relate the concept of recontextualising to the concept of relative autonomy. Neo-Marxist's concepts of relative autonomy focus upon the space made available by the State to the school, so that it can better accomplish its class reproducing functions by appearing neutral. Even in this turns out to be empirically the case it is necessary to distinguish the kind of autonomy, its location and its conditions. What is important is to examine the relative autonomies of recontextualising fields with respect to each other and with respect to the State. For this fields/sub-fields regulate the circulation of Pedagogic discourses and practices (Bernstein, 1982).

Context of Reproduction

This section attempts to give a description of the categories and relevant social relations which constitute in our model the "context of reproduction". Our central purpose is to describe its internal structure as a composition of categories, practices and sites of reproduction. Secondly, we will examine the formal relations of the context of reproduction to its possible systemic relations to the field of symbolic control and production.

To begin with, we can say that the context of reproduction (school system) constitutes an organisational structure for "the selective reproduction of educational discourse" (Bernstein, 1981:42). It is constituted by specialised categories (agents, discourses), practices

and sites, socially created, maintained and reproduced for the reproduction of Pedagogic discourse. We consider that the context of reproduction is determined, in the last instance, by the State¹⁴ which through its Official Pedagogic Discourse and its recontextualising agencies and regulations attempts to create and maintain the conditions for the pedagogising and allocating (classificatory) functions of the context of reproduction. However, these functions are not necessarily achieved as is often suggested by different researches.

The context of reproduction reproduces specific competences (specialised skills) imbedded in moral dispositions (specific moral order, relations and identity), relevant to the maintenance and reproduction of the dominant principles within a specific social formation.

Our first approximation will be to consider the context of reproduction, today, as constituted by organised networks for the structuring of experiences which prepare individuals to act in the economic, administrative and cultural forms of society. Thus, we think that the organisational arrangements of the context of

14. Here it is necessary to explain that the "context of reproduction" (the school system in its different levels) has not always been subordinated to the State. The educational system was first constituted as an agency of symbolic control controlled by the Church which became later dependent on the field of production and of the State. Bernstein synthesises these relations in the following paragraph: "Initially, when education as a specialised and separate agency was constituted in Europe, it was subordinated to the Church. The conflict during the pre-industrial period centred upon the independence of education from the Church. The autonomy of education from the Church was followed by the increasing dependency of education on the mode of production, and thus, on the State" (Bernstein, 1977:187). From this perspective, we are aware that the model itself appears to be relatively mechanistic and rigid, not permitting explanation of the historical dynamics of the relations.

reproduction - classification of time and space, classification of knowledge, classification of agents, organisation of practices - are the means for the attempted regulation of pupils' attitudes, behaviours, knowledge (skills) and performances, and through these, the regulation of their later social life.

Thus, we consider that of all the systems or agencies of reproduction, within today's social formations, the educational system conjugates the functional relations of cultural and economic reproduction. This means that its structure not only reproduces the dominant order and its discursive basis but creates a potential for the means, contexts and possibilities of the field of production and symbolic control.¹⁵ Today the State has increasingly concerned itself with the regulation of education's systemic relations with respect to both the practices of the field of symbolic control and the practices of the field of production. Let us be clear that we do not think of a mechanical correspondence. We are simply pointing to the increasing role of the State in its management of the systemic relations of education.

To us these systemic relations are not limited to the social division of labour and its social relations of the field of production but include the growing importance of the increase in complexity of the social division of labour and its social relations of symbolic control. Indeed, we might hypothesise that as the principles of production of physical resources become more and more abstract (theories

15. In Europe the initial function of education was the reproduction of the moral system and its basis in Christianity, together with the reproduction of religious agents. Durkheim suggests that under Charlemagne education produced administrative agents of the State and ambassadors, etc. Because the Church legitimised the State system it reproduced the dominant social order. See Durkheim, 1977:Chs. 4 and 5).

of communication control, electronic and biological theories) then its social division of labour becomes much simpler but the social division of labour and its social relations of symbolic control may become much more complex. If this were to be the case, then the systemic relations of education with symbolic control would become both stronger and much complex.

The following analysis will be necessary to understand later developments of our considerations of Pedagogic discourse.

The Systemic Relations of the Context of Reproduction

At the end of our last section we distinguished between two social divisions of labour and their social relations, one based upon the production/reproduction of physical resources and the other based upon the production/reproduction of discursive resources. The former is constituted in what is usually referred to as the field of production and the latter is constituted in what we shall call the field of symbolic control which contains the diverse agencies both public and private of symbolic control. The output of Pedagogic discourse is potentially available to both fields.

Debate in the recent literature has been concerned with the degree of correspondence, dependence and closeness of the relations between education and the field of production. It has not taken into account the field of symbolic control where there may well be a closer relation with education. Consider a classification of agents of symbolic control as regulators, repairers, reproducers, diffusers, shapers and executors¹⁶ for most of whom Pedagogic discourse is either a crucial or

16. For a discussion of the classification of these agents, see "Symbolic Control and the Identification of the New Middle Class" in Bernstein (1977:127-130).

necessary preliminary to the occupational function.

We can distinguish two positions and two features of the relations between education and the field of production. One position emphasises the correspondence between education and production (Bowles and Gintis) and the other emphasises the relative independence (Althusser, 1971; Bernstein, 1977; Bourdieu, 1977; Hall, 1977; Apple, 1982). The two features that can be subject to a correspondence principle are either or both skills and the ideological positioning of "dispositions". In the language of our model the former refers to instructional practices and the latter to regulative practices.

Let us briefly develop within the first position the arguments of Bowles and Gintis (1976). From their point of view, the educational system is not an independent system but "an institution which serves to perpetuate the social relations of economic life" (1976:11). They make more explicit what they called "the correspondence principle" when they say: "The educational system helps to integrate youth into the economic life, we believe, through a structural correspondence between its social relation and those of production. The structure of the social relations in education not only inures the students to the discipline of the work place, but developes the types of personal demeanour, modes of self-representation, self-image and social class-identifications which are the crucial ingredients of job adequacy" (ibid.:131). For these authors, "the social relations of education replicate the hierarchical division of labour (ibid.:131). As the reproduction of the social relations of production depends, in Bowles and Gintis, on the reproduction of consciousness, the educational system would provide the resources and means for such a reproduction relevant to the mode of production: "The educational system tailors the self-concepts, aspirations, and social class identifications of individuals

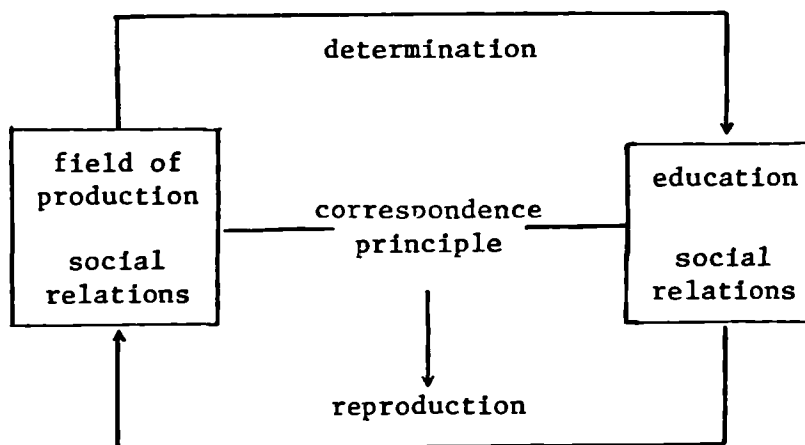
to the requirements of the social division of labour" (*ibid.*:129).

According to Bowles and Gintis, the consciousness for the mode of production is constituted in the social relations of education. They are explicit and state that "the current relationship between education and economy is ensured not through the content of education but its form Education prepares students to be workers through a correspondence between the social relations of production and the social relations of education" (Bowles and Gintis, 1981). For Bowles and Gintis what the educational system reproduces involves those technical and cognitive skills required for adequate job performance. It also requires those beliefs, values, self-concepts, types of solidarity and fragmentation, as well as modes of personal behaviour and development, integral to the perpetuation, validation and smooth operation of economic institutions (*ibid.*:127). We agree that the context of reproduction by providing specific knowledge, skills and by attempting to position pupils into specific dispositions may respond to the demands of the field of production, but what is doubtful is - as Bernstein says - that these are so internalised as to constitute specific personalities (Bernstein, 1977:187).¹⁷

-
17. In 'Relations Between Education and Production', (1977:Ch. 8) Bernstein states, with respect to this point: "We ... do not accept entirely Bowles and Gintis's argument, as this relates to the correspondence between dispositions valued in the school and the dispositions required by agents of the work force in capitalist societies. We agree that the school may well legitimise values and attitudes relevant to the mode of production, but this does not mean that these are so internalised as to constitute specific personalities. Consider the various forms of industrial action over the last hundred years. The school in this respect is highly inefficient in creating a docile, deferential and subservient work force. The school today has difficulty in disciplining its children" (pp. 187-188). Willis (1977) argues that in their forms of opposition to and rejection of the school working-class pupils (the "lads") develop a focus, perspective and style which reinforce forms conducive to manual labour.

We consider that it is in the relations between discourses, practices and sites of the context of reproduction that consciousness is recontextualised. Consciousness is recontextualised through the instructional and regulative practices to which specific instructional and regulative discourse give rise. Whether the school's recontextualising practices produces a new constituting of consciousness or a development of previous consciousness or an oppositional consciousness is a matter of crucial study. And we might add this question should be answered with respect to what groups, when and how. In what way pedagogic consciousness is both relevant to the field of production and to the field of symbolic control depends on many factors, internal and external to the context of reproduction.

The structural correspondence between the social relations of education (context of reproduction in our perspective) and those of the field of production, as expressed by Bowles and Gintis, can be illustrated in the following scheme:



(the social relations of education replicate and reproduce the social relations of the field of production)

We consider in this respect that the "structured totalities" of the social relations of production and the social relations of education are not in direct correspondence. The relations between the economic structure and the educational structure are not identical "but necessarily uneven and displaced" (Hall, 1977). The relations as presented by Bowles and Gintis do not express the contradictions involved in the articulation between the field of production and the context of reproduction (Bernstein, 1977; Carnoy, 1982; Dale, 1982; Hall, 1977). Thus, the relations between education and production may, according to Bernstein, create contradictions and discrepancies with reference to:

- "(a) the relationships between the distribution of the categories it creates and the distribution of the categories of the mode of production;
- (b) the relationships between the categories it creates and the relationships between the categories required by the mode of production;
- (c) the realisation of its categories (skills and dispositions) and the expected realisations of the categories of the mode of production."

(1977:186)

In our view, as we have expressed in the above pages, it is possible to distinguish some forms of determination in the relations between the field of production and the context of reproduction. Thus, we think that the field of production may establish selective demands on the context of reproduction. However, the determination of the context of reproduction by the demands of the field of production does not mean that the context of reproduction is necessarily functional to the field of production. In other words, when we say that the context of reproduction reproduces the categories and social relations relevant to the field of production we do not mean that the educational context, its categories and practices work in an optimal

way to reproduce them. We shall illustrate in a more specific way these considerations in our general analysis of the Colombian educational system.

What is the role of the State in the relations between the field of production and the context of reproduction? We assume that the State acts selectively on the demands of the field of production, that is, it transforms the demands of the field of production into technical - and political - proposals which may determine specific changes or variations both in the context of reproduction and production. Through this the State attempts to control what Bernstein has called the "systemic relations between education and production".

Further, it seems we have been analysing these relations as if Pedagogic discourse is dependent upon the social division of labour and social relations of production and symbolic control through direct intervention by the State or indirectly through adjustments of Pedagogic discourse to the external pressures of its systemic relations. Collins (1971, 1974) and Dore (1976) point out that through the specialisation of its qualifications (credentialism) education plays an active role in its systemic relations rather than being only subordinated to them.

Our model assumes two relations between the State and the field of production which include both the production and reproduction of Pedagogic discourse. In the case of the former (the production of discourse) the state may monitor practices within the intellectual field through its principles of funding research. In the case of the latter (reproduction of discourse) the State may intervene to reduce, extend or modify the set of discourses to be reproduced; change their focus (theoretical/vocational), modify the location of Pedagogic discourse by extending its basis to include the work place; and extend the

penetration of Pedagogic discourse both spatially and temporally into the life cycle. The meaning of these strategies of intervention depends upon the dominating principles and the location, conditions and degree of relative autonomy accorded to different levels of the educational system.

If we are looking at the systemic relations with reference to specialised skills then it is doubtful if there is a close correspondence relation between the contents of Pedagogic discourse and the form of its reproduction at the level of the school and the requirements of the fields of production and symbolic control. Indeed, it is the alledged relative absence of this correspondence which is the rationale for the intervention of the modern state into the systemic relations. If we are looking at the role of Pedagogic discourse in constituting a form of consciousness and social relations appropriate to production, then, it becomes a matter of interest to see for whom, to what extent, where, when and how this occurs in the complex relations between family and school. There may be a stronger argument for the reproduction of patriarchy through the school's instrumental and regulative practices. Many of the problems inherent in the correspondence issue of either the dependent or independent variety arise because Pedagogic discourse itself is not a category for analysis but a category to be taken for granted in the production/reproduction of the dominant social order. We hope, with the model we shall develop to contributed to the terms of this debate.

The Position of the Context of Reproduction within the Field of Symbolic Control

Now we will examine briefly the position of the context of

reproduction in the field of symbolic control.¹⁸ The basic question here is how the context of reproduction of the educational system becomes a context of selection, legitimation and reproduction of the dominant regulative order and its practices relevant to the maintenance of the dominant principles within a specific society. We shall start by giving a definition of symbolic control. In a general sense, by symbolic control may be understood "the rules, procedures and social agencies regulating the legitimate creation, distribution, reproduction and change of consciousness by symbolic means (principles of communication) through which a given distribution of power and dominating cultural categories are legitimated, maintained, developed and changed" (Bernstein, Seminars).

This definition presupposes that the process of reproduction of the dominant regulative order (GRD) together with its internal conflicts, is accomplished, appropriating Bernstein's terms, through the control over the selection and institutionalisation of specific modalities of symbolic control which take the form of regulative practices. The latter presupposes the existence of a specialised discursive category, regulative discourse, the form of which constitutes the ruling and legitimating device of modalities of symbolic control. Intrinsic to these modalities are "the rules which regulate what counts as legitimate order between and within transmitters, acquirers ... and contexts" (Bernstein, Seminars).

18. The context of reproduction is itself a very complex context which entails different levels of the educational system and differentiation between and within levels. We noted the systemic relations between the context of education and the external social division of labour and its social relations of production and symbolic control. We must also in the present discussion note the relations between the context of education and other external agencies of reproduction, for example, family, peer groups, etc.

Clearly, the whole field of symbolic control in modern societies presupposes a complex of agencies, agents, discourses and practices all of which are in the last instance subject to the dominant principles imbedded in GRD. However, some agencies, agents, discourses and practices are more directly and explicitly subjected than others. Which agencies, agents, discourses, and practices are so subjected depends upon the dominant principles which define both their degrees of dependence upon the State and the location, conditions and degree of their autonomy.

Thus, we may characterise symbolic control as that set of specialised and dominant forms of communication which constitutes the means (not necessarily effective) of cultural reproduction. These specialised and dominant forms of communication constitute a regulative discourse which is the legitimating device for the selection and institutionalising of the various modalities of symbolic control.

Education today is the crucial device available to the State for the systematic production, reproduction, distribution and change of forms of consciousness through discourse. At the same time its discourses often give access to dominant positions of the various agencies of symbolic control.

We must point out that we have said only that education is a crucial device for the State whereby its dominant principles may be translated into micro-practices at the level of the school either as limits on these practices or as definition of these practices. First of all, what is selected is not necessarily transmitted, what is transmitted is not necessarily acquired, and what is acquired may bear little or not relation, or indeed an oppositional relation to, the intentions of the selectors and transmitters.

We can see education as a State agency which is imbedded in a network of relations, direct or indirect, which link family and education to the State, for example, medical, social, custodial and religious agencies which we can call the agencies of repair, support and removal. The discourses of these agencies are often directly obtained from education whilst their practicing agents are directly and indirectly linked to agencies of the State. There is a complex inter-relation between the discourses of these agencies, education and the State. The extent to which there is differentiation rather than integration, local rather than central control, autonomy rather than dependence effect the powers, positions and practices of these State linked agencies within the field of symbolic control. We find that within these agencies (repair, support and removal) we have a dominant instructional practice but implicit regulative practices.

There is a further set of agencies, discourses and practices which exemplify a different double relation to education. First, the mass and specialised media and agencies of sport are increasingly the product of Pedagogic discourse and as a consequence the latter indirectly positions familial and youth cultural practices. Secondly, the Pedagogic discourse of the school may well have to monitor, incorporate, recontextualise, even defend itself against the media it has helped to create in order to preserve its own order.

We have within this section dealt only in very general terms with those agencies within the field of symbolic control which are closely related to the context of reproduction of education.

Bibliography

- Althusser, L. (1971) "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" in Cosin, B.R. (ed.) (1972), Education: Structure and Society, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books.
- Apple, W.A. (ed.) (1982) Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bernstein, B. (1977) Class, Codes and Control: Vol. 3. Towards a Theory of Educational Transmissions, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bernstein, B. (1981) "Codes, Modalities and the Process of Cultural Reproduction: A Model", Anglo American Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1.
- Bernstein, B. (1982) "On the Circulation of Pedagogic Texts", Department of Educational Research, Stockholm Institute of Education.
- Bernstein, B., Seminars.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977) Outline of the Theory of Practice, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Originally published in French in 1972.)
- Bowles, S. and Gintis, H. (1976) Schooling in Capitalist America, New York: Basic Books Inc.
- Bowles, S. and Gintis, H. (1981) "Contradictions and Reproduction in Educational Theory" in Dale, R. et al. (1981), Schooling and the National Interest, Barcome: The Falmer Press.
- Bruner, J. (1966) Toward a Theory of Instruction, London: Oxford University Press.
- Burton, F. and Carlen, P. (1979) Official Discourse, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Carnoy, M. (1982) "Education, Economy and the State" in Apple, M. (ed.) (1982), Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Collins, R. (1971) "Functional and Conflict Theories of Educational Stratification", American Sociological Review, Vol. 36 (December), pp. 1002-1019).

- Collins, R. (1974) "Where are Educational Requirements for Employment Highest", Sociology of Education, Vol. 47 (Fall), pp. 419-442).
- Dale, R. (1982) "Education and the Capitalist State: Contributions and Contradictions" in Apple, M. (ed.) (1982), Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Donzelot, J. (1980) The Policing of Families, London: Hutchinson.
- Dore, R. (1976) The Diploma Disease: Education, Qualification and Development.
- Durkheim, E. (1977) The Evolution of Educational Thought, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. (Originally published in French in 1938.)
- Foucault, M. (1977) Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books. (Originally published in French in 1975.)
- Foucault, M. (1978) "Politics and the Study of Discourse", Ideology and Consciousness, Spring 1978 (3). (Originally published in French in 1968.)
- Gintis, H. (1980) "Communication and Politics: Marxism and the Problem of Liberal Democracy", Socialist Review, Vol. 10, pp. 189-232.
- Gouldner, A.W. (1970) The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology, London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd.
- Gouldner, A.W. (1976) The Dialectic of Ideology and Technology: The Origins, Grammar and Future of Ideology, London: Macmillan.
- Hall, S. (1977) "Schooling, State and Society" in Dale, R. et al. (eds.) (1981), Schooling and the National Interest, Barcombe: The Falmer Press.
- Poulantzas, N. (1978) State, Power and Socialism, London: NLB.
- Strasser, H. and Randall, S. (1981) An Introduction to Theories of Social Change, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Willis, P. (1977) Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs, Westmead: Saxon House.

CHAPTER FOUR

DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODEL (II)

Structure of the Context of Reproduction

If we examine the structure of the context of reproduction we can observe that it is constituted by categories (agents, discourses and sites) and practices. The categories constitute an expression of its social division of labour, and the practices are the expression of the social relations of communication. In this sense, we can say that the principle of the social division of labour create the structure of the context of reproduction and that the social relations create the forms of communication within this context. Let us examine in more detail this view.

1. The social division of pedagogic labour¹ of the context of reproduction is realised in the distribution of categories whether these are agents, discourses or organisational sites.

At the level of a school the social division of labour constitutes its positional structure. In Bernstein's view "it refers to the relationships between the school fundamental categories" (1977:177). Teachers and pupils can be grouped according to their function; pupils can be grouped according to features such as age, gender, ability, etc. Further, there exists a social division of labour of discourses. In the same way, we can consider that there is a social division of labour

1. The term was first used by Durkheim in The Evolution of Educational Thought (English translation, 1977).

of pedagogic space in sites of reproduction.²

Thus, the social division of labour of the context of reproduction may be considered to be composed of teachers, pupils, discourses (instructional, regulative) and of specific sites.

Social Division of Labour of the Context of Reproduction	
categories	features of classification
transmitters	- function
acquirers	- age, gender, ability, etc.
discourses	- function (means or object of reproduction)
sites	- hierarchy and function

We will use Bernstein's principle of classification to refer to the relationships between the categories of the social division of labour whether these are teachers, pupils, discourses, or sites of reproduction.

2. If we examine this context in terms of the social relationships generated and realised, we find that the realisation of categories of agents is constituted by pedagogic practices. Pedagogic practice, in this perspective, constitutes the fundamental social relations of

2. Sites of reproduction could be equated to what Delamont (1976) calls "physical settings", but in a wider sense; a social area of reproduction, characterised by a specific set of features, practices and structures. For example, school, home. In Delamont, the physical setting refers to the physical relations between and within the classroom.

reproduction of specific messages. Pedagogic practice refers to the social relationship between transmitters and acquirers,³ and to the form in which a specific content is transmitted and evaluated. These social relations produce what Bernstein calls "the form of the communication". Forms of communication within the different levels of the context of reproduction are a function of the structure of the context, that is, its social division of labour.

We will use Bernstein's concept of framing to refer "to the principle regulating the communicative practices within the social relations within the reproduction of discursive resources; that is, between transmitters and acquirers" (Bernstein, 1981). This concept also refers to the principle regulating the communication between contexts; for example, school-home.

From now on, we will use the concept context of reproduction to refer to the inter-relations between agents, discourses (instructional and regulative), practices and sites entailed in the reproduction of specialised forms of Pedagogic discourse. The aim of the analysis of the context of reproduction is to explore the character of the categories, practices and sites involved in the transmission-acquisition of selected meanings entailed in the production of specific modalities of pedagogic consciousness.

The following diagram (Figure 6) attempts to present a provisional

-
3. The relations between transmitters and acquirers have been the object of a wide literature. Among the studies we find Flanders (1970) whose categories are synthesised by Delamont (1976), Young and Beardsley (1968), Woods (1979), Edwards (1980), Hargreaves (1975), Hargreaves et al. (1975), Stubbs and Delamont (1976). Most of these studies range across the interactionist perspective. In our analysis, this interactional process, is only a part of the general process of cultural (and economic) reproduction.

set of relations between the categories, practices and sites constituting the context of reproduction. We are aware that not all the relations we will study in the following sections are presented here. Other models will be presented in the course of the development of this work to show the system of relations which are not explicated in this partial model.

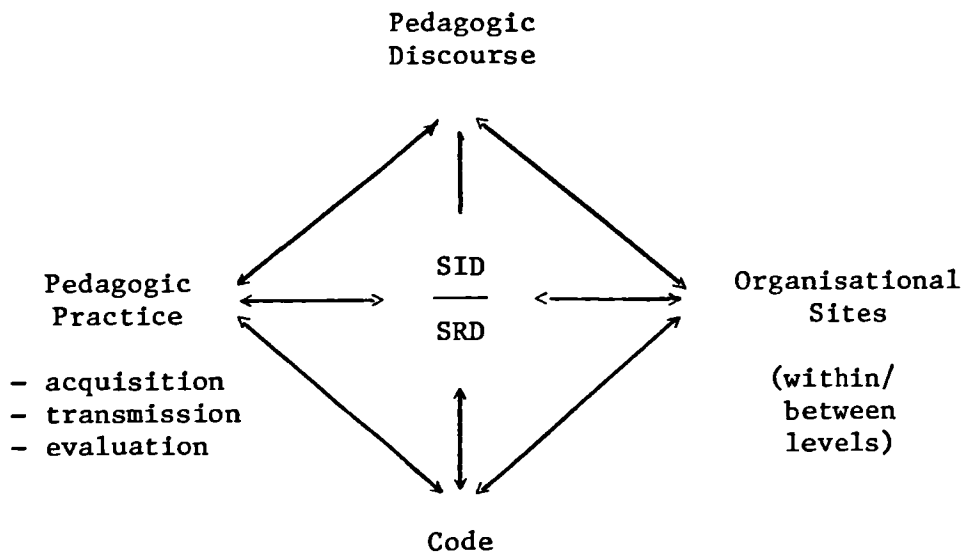


Figure 6 Context of Reproduction

SID - specific instructional discourse

SRD - specific regulative discourse

The model shown in the diagram is a way of expressing the relations of determination (constraints and contradictions) between the fundamental regulating category, Pedagogic discourse consisting of specific instructional and regulative discourse and the practices and sites in which it is located. In general terms, we consider that Pedagogic discourse constitutes the means for the reproduction of specialised competences related to the acquisition of knowledge/skills (SID) and the means for the reproduction of legitimate order (SRD).

Pedagogic Discourse

The intention in this section is to develop the notion of Pedagogic discourse, which we consider to be the dominant device for the regulation of cultural and educational reproduction. We need to consider how Pedagogic discourse is structured and how it becomes a structuring and underlying category of the context of reproduction.

We have said in preceding sections that discourse can be formulated as a constituted/constituting category. Discourse can be constituted by other discourses and can also be the means and source of production of new discourses. From this perspective, we consider that every discourse "gives rise to certain organisation of concepts, certain regrouping of objects, certain types of enunciation, which form, according to the degree of coherence, rigor and stability, themes and theories".⁴ We assume given this definition that the objects, concepts, rules and theories constituting Pedagogic discourse do not have the same regime of formation, nor necessarily belong to the same discourse. This is our reason for saying that the process of the constitution of Pedagogic discourse is very complex. It presupposes a set of power positions and social relations regulated by what we can call "the social division of labour for the production of discourse."

A Simple Model for the Production of Pedagogic Discourse

When we consider the constitution of Pedagogic discourse, we must take into account the existence of a complex set of relations between different fields and contexts. In the first place, we must consider the existence of a variety of theoretical discourses belonging to different

4. See Foucault (1972).

fields, whose concepts and theories integrate a body of knowledge which constitute the sources for the formation of Pedagogic discourse. These discourses belonging to different fields structure what Bernstein calls "the primary context of the production of discourse".⁵ From our point we need to distinguish within this context the selection of the discourses to be reproduced by Pedagogic discourse and the selection of the theories of their transmission.

We shall restrict the field of the production of discourse to two types of discourse, specialised disciplines and their sub-disciplines which can be broadly grouped under the humanities, social sciences and natural sciences. Secondly, we can distinguish within this field discursive regions which are specialised domains involving a recontextualising and specific practical focusing of the disciplines to become autonomous regions, for example, architecture, medicine, engineering. The regions are clearly the inter-face between the fields of production of discourse and the various fields of practice. Pedagogic discourse, from this point of view, is similar to region as it selects not only from the whole field of production of discourse but also from the field of practices. We cannot call Pedagogic discourse a specialised region because it is a means itself for the production and reproduction of regions and disciplines.

In our view, it is within the intellectual field of education that the production of concepts and theories constituting Pedagogic discourse has become more specialised. This has created new forms of relations between the intellectual field of education and other fields and regions.

5. The process of the production of discourse has been called by Bernstein primary contextualising.

We can distinguish two processes of recontextualising. The first selects discourses from the field of the production of discourse to form the "what" and "how" of Pedagogic discourse. This process creates what we shall call here the intellectual field of education. The second recontextualising process occurs when the theories and concepts created within the intellectual field of education are ideologically positioned according to the requirements of legitimate socialisation within the context of the school. The second recontextualising process is regulated by a diverse set of agencies, agents and practices. For our thesis, we will restrict these practices to the specialised agencies of the State (although we are aware of the existence of other recontextualising agencies (see page 55), and these we will call the Recontextualising Agencies of the State⁶ whose basic function is to control what can enter into the context of reproduction. These are specific offices and Divisions constituting the pedagogic bureaucracy of the State, responsible for the appropriation of specific theoretical and methodological positions for the legitimation of pedagogic theory. We hope to illustrate the specific recontextualising agencies of the State in our analysis of the Colombian Educational System.

-
6. We are restricting our thesis here because in the second part we shall find ourselves concerned with pedagogic agencies of the State who have the monopoly of the process of recontextualising. Further, it is not possible for reasons of space to develop a major discussion of the history, development and dynamics of the fields and sub-fields of the recontextualising context. In the United Kingdom it is possible to see the work of recontextualising at the level of the State, through the selection of members of the various advisory Committees on education, their various reports, and what is accepted and implemented, the publication through the Schools Council, and the publications of inspectors' reports on schools. This is not meant to be an exhaustive catalogue, only to give illustrations where the recontextualising of theories/practices may be found.

We consider that the context of reproduction (and its various levels) can constitute a source of production of new pedagogic concepts and theories which can enrich and even transform Pedagogic discourse.⁷ Clearly, such a transformation depends upon whether a space is available for such a possibility or whether a space can be created. There are good reasons to believe that such a space is more likely to be created where there are problems of control of acquirers. It is not only a matter of the creation of a space but also a matter of the power relations between recontextualisers and reproducers, and the various communities of interests the school is serving. Illustrations of this creation of a space can be found in multi-cultural, anti-racist, anti-sexist education in the United Kingdom and in the USA.

The following schematic diagram (Figure 7) attempts to show the movements in the mode of constitution of Pedagogic discourse.

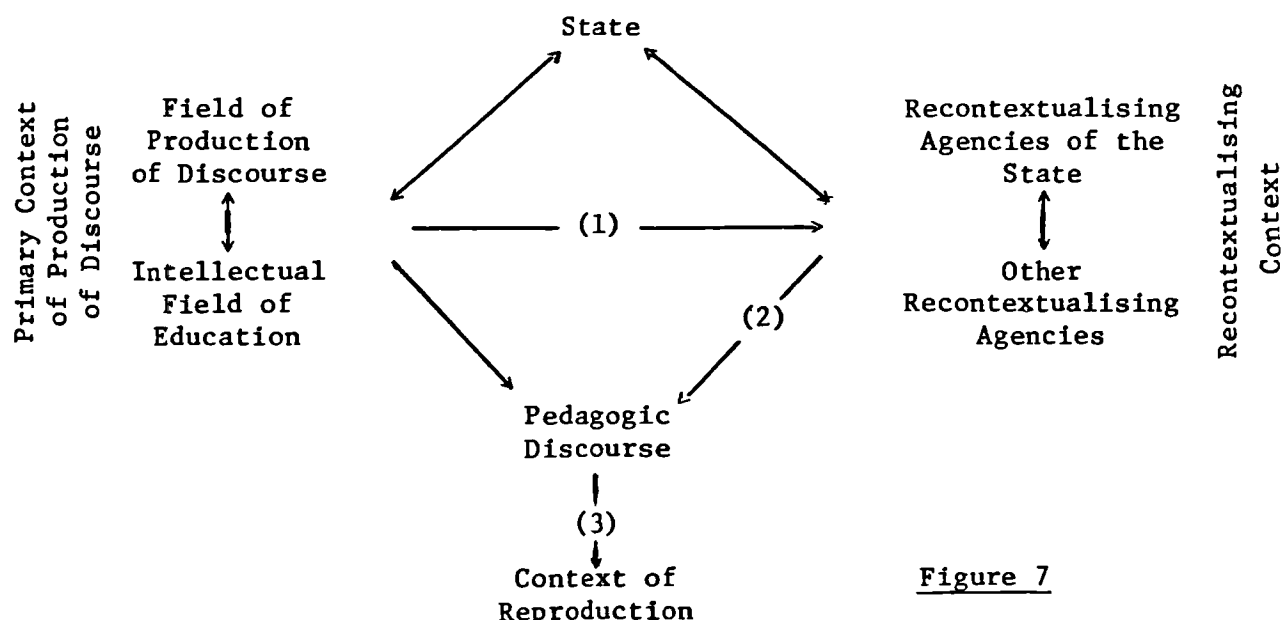


Figure 7

(Categories-Practices and Sites of
Reproduction of Specific
Educational Discourse)

7. However, school plays a more critical role in the reproduction rather than in the production of discourse.

The diagram illustrates the relations between the fields and contexts in the constitution of Pedagogic discourse. The Official recontextualising context produces the basic power relations between the different recontextualising agencies engaged in the recontextualising of educational discourse. The State, in turn, acts directly or indirectly in the fields of the two contexts (production of discourse and recontextualising), first by legitimising specific research projects or by providing funds for educational research to the intellectual field of education and, secondly, by creating its specific recontextualising agencies (Pedagogic Agencies) responsible for the regulation of the what/how and legitimate order, to be reproduced in the context of reproduction. According to Bernstein (1981:43) "It is the recontextualising field which generates the positions and oppositions of pedagogic theory, research and practice."

In the above scheme, (1) expresses the transformations of what we have called the primary context of production of discourse by the Recontextualising agencies. These agencies integrate what is recontextualised (delocated-relocated in Bernstein's terms) into a whole set of regulations or official texts to which we can assign the name of "official recontextualising practices". Position (2) expresses the dependence of Pedagogic discourse on the recontextualising agencies of the State, and more specifically, it indicates that Pedagogic discourse as a recontextualised/recontextualising discourse is limited by the Pedagogic Agencies of the State. Position (3) expresses the relations between Pedagogic discourse and the context of reproduction (we will refer to this relation in the next section).

Thus, according to the above simplified scheme. Pedagogic discourse is constituted as an institutionalised product which involves

the existence of, and relations between, different contexts and of specific rules of transformation (recontextualising rules) of concepts and theories for the constitution of specific objects and the regulation of specific practices. In other words, Pedagogic discourse is constituted as a discursive domain which has institutionalised boundaries, specific rules and principles (regulating principles) and a specific mode of existence (instructional and regulative).

With reference to our simplified model, the fundamental concepts, principles and regulations of Pedagogic discourse are transformed and ideologically positioned by recontextualising practices from a complex of discourses whether or not these belong to the intellectual field of education.⁸ A general definition of the rules of transformation (recontextualising rules) has been offered by Bernstein (1981).

So far, we have considered Pedagogic discourse as an object, as a specific product constituted by objects, concepts, theories, which are integrated in its own rules and regulating principles. Our simplified model, in this respect, shows, schematically, the possible sources of formation of Pedagogic discourse: It integrates three different contexts with its respective agents, agencies, practices and conditions. To some extent we have dealt, exclusively with the conditions of its production as a specialised official discourse.

From a rather different point of view we can consider Pedagogic discourse as a reproductive means, as a constituting category, as itself a regulating and recontextualising device. From this perspective, Pedagogic discourse stands as a discursive resource through which the

8. There is an interesting circularity between the development of a pedagogised society and the range of discourses/practices subject to recontextualising practices.

production/reproduction of an order (internal and external to the individual) and the constitution of specialised competences is made possible.

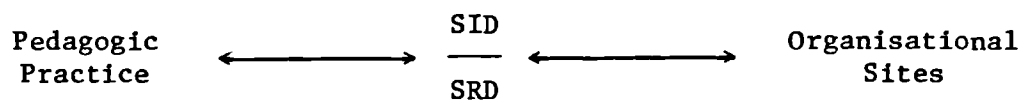
It is possible to define Pedagogic discourse as "the rules regulating the production, distribution, reproduction, inter-relation and change of what counts as legitimate pedagogic texts" (Bernstein, Seminars). From this perspective Pedagogic discourse is not a repertory of contents (concepts, theories, set of enunciates or even representations) but a grammar of production of new texts, for its distribution/reproduction in the context of reproduction. This grammar of the production of texts, called "pedagogic texts"⁹ would integrate specific principles and rules as described by Bernstein (1981). It would be necessary to disconnect the rules regulating the production of "pedagogic texts" from the rules and principles regulating their distribution, reproduction and positioning in the context of reproduction. We consider that Pedagogic discourse (PD) creates, from this point of view, the system of relations between a given pedagogic text and the social conditions for its reproduction. These social conditions for the reproduction of specific pedagogic texts (and the power control relations imbedded in their structure) are constituted, we think, by the conjunction of two specialised discourses in which Pedagogic discourse is imbedded: Instructional discourse and Regulative discourse (these will be analysed later in separate chapters). These discourses integrate rules regulating the relations between the competences to be reproduced and the order

9. Any pedagogic text, itself, from this point of view, can be considered as a selective integration, articulation and contextualising of "pedagogemes". Pedagogeme is the minimal unit which attracts evaluation. This gives rise in Halliday's terms to levels of realisation of a systemic grammar, that is, Pedagogic discourse-pedagogic text-pedagogeme. In principle such a formulation creates a language for describing and exploring the relations between the State and a pedagogeme, that is, a micro-realisation of macro-powers.

to be maintained in the process of reproduction of specific texts, through specific pedagogic practices realised in the context of reproduction.

We will now attempt an integrated definition of Pedagogic discourse. Pedagogic discourse can be considered as the conjunction of different systems of objects, concepts, theories, articulated under two modalities of discourse, instructional and regulative. These imbedded discourses generate the principles and rules regulating the production of specific competences, and what counts "as legitimate order between and within transmitters, acquirers, competences and contexts" (Bernstein, Seminars).

We shall in the next sections be concerned to explicate the relations given in the diagram below.



Relations Between Pedagogic Discourse and the Context of Reproduction

In our view, the formal context of reproduction may be considered as regulated by a set of institutionalised rules constituted as Pedagogic discourse. From this perspective, it is possible to assume that the organisational structure of the context of reproduction is determined by assumptions (concepts and theories) and regulations of Pedagogic discourse. However, it seems to us that the determinations between Pedagogic discourse and the context of reproduction are reciprocal. This means that there exists an interaction between Pedagogic discourse and the context of reproduction: changes in the principles and rules, and their

underlying concepts and theories, of Pedagogic discourse may produce changes in the organisational structure and practices of the context of reproduction. In turn, changes in the organisational structure and the social relations of the latter may produce changes in the principles and assumptions of Pedagogic discourse.¹⁰ However, a range of variations may arise in this interaction. Pedagogic discourse may vary the principles regulating the social relations of pedagogic practices (teacher-pupil) without changing the principles regulating the discursive rules of the transmission. In the same way, it is possible to vary up to a point the principles regulating the constitution of the specific discursive rules of the instructional practices without changing the legitimate order constituted by the regulative practice.

In analysing the relations between Pedagogic discourse and the context of reproduction, we consider that Pedagogic discourse constitutes specialised categories (transmitters and acquirers, with their own specific features) which articulate the social structure of the school, or, using Bernstein's terms, the positional structure of the school. Pedagogic discourse regulates pedagogic practices (I/R), within organisational sites of reproduction and their specific relations within and between levels.¹¹ This can be schematised as follows (Figure 8).

-
10. For example, every time the school-leaving age is raised (an organisational age) this is followed by a crisis in the curriculum generated by the inclusion of a group of pupils who were previously excluded.
 11. This raises the question of the relations between Pedagogic discourse and its organisational basis through which it is distributed. The organisational basis which is the material structure for the realisation of PD may, in its own terms, constrain or facilitate the possibilities of a given Pedagogic discourse.

Mode of Regulation of the Context of Reproduction

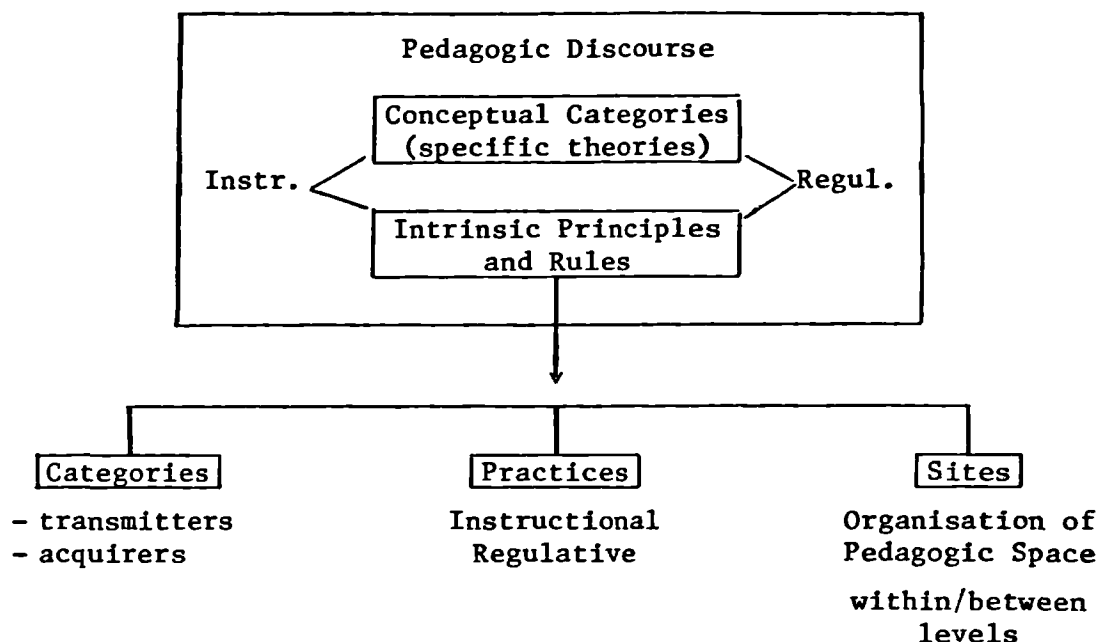


Figure 8

At a deeper level, Pedagogic discourse institutionalises the principles and rules (with its underlying theories) through which time, space and discourse become the organisational features of the context of reproduction. In this respect, and following Bernstein's assumptions developed in the "Preface" to Educational Analysis (1982), we consider that Pedagogic discourse constitutes in the context of reproduction an organisational structure in which time, space and discourse relations are integrated and specialised. In other words, Pedagogic discourse provides the basis for:

- (1) The organisation of time. Here, the principal question concerns the temporal demarcation of acquisition and of transmission. Pedagogic discourse regulates, in this case, time, by setting down the norms, and basically, the principles regulating the variations in what may be called "pedagogic time". How "time"

becomes "individualised" or how individuals (pupils) become homogenised in time (temporal progression of the acquisition-transmission) depends fundamentally on the assumption (theories) of Pedagogic discourse. (See Roth, J.A., 1963.)

- (ii) The organisation of space. Pedagogic discourse regulates, demarcates and legitimates the social space of acquisition (pedagogic space), that is, it creates the "boundaries" between what can be a legitimate pedagogic space and what cannot be a pedagogic space. Thus, the constitution of pedagogic space together with its physical boundaries also carry symbolic values and implies a specific order. Whether the space is strongly or weakly classified depends on the principles of Pedagogic discourse and of its underlying assumption.¹²
- (iii) The recontextualising of discourse. Bernstein has said that "any formal educational experience entails decontextualising and recontextualising." Pedagogic discourse is considered to be, in this case a recontextualising means of knowledge, (theoretical or "everyday knowledge"). By "acting selectively, abstracting from, and re-focusing" the knowledge to be transmitted, Pedagogic discourse re-focuses pupils experience, that is, it generates new forms of social relation with, and positions in knowledge. Thus, the fundamental rule of the grammar of Pedagogic discourse is the principle of recontextualising of time, space and discourse, through which the culture of the school is produced/reproduced.

12. Examples of weakly classified time and space can be found in Silberman (1973). Also see Hamilton (1973). On the influence of space on behaviour see Stebbins (1973).

Pedagogic Practice

In preceding sections a difference was established between categories and practices. It was argued that the reproduction of educational discourse entails categories and practices: that categories (teachers, pupils) are constituted by the social division of labour and that practices are constituted by social relations.

Here, we will refer to those practices regulating the relations between transmitters and acquirers, which we will call pedagogic practice. Bernstein has considered that social relations regulate the form of pedagogic practice (1981:20), and control the principles of communication. He also has created the concept framing to refer to the variations in the principles of communication (interactional and locational) of pedagogic practices. In his view, "framing refers to the principle regulating the communicative practices of the social relations ... between transmitters and acquirers" (ibid.:22).

In a limited sense, we consider that pedagogic practice is the mode of positioning pupils into specific units of knowledge through the pedagogic methods constituted by specific instructional discourse. This implies the positioning of pupils into models of reasoning, perceiving, interpreting, and in general, into specific modes of acquisition of knowledge/skills linked to the production of specific competences.¹³ Pedagogic practice also entails the mode of positioning of pupils into a specific legitimate order, with respect to legitimate norms, patterns or paradigms of conduct, character and manner. Here,

13. The acquisition of specific competences (through the acquisition of specific knowledge/skills) runs parallel to the legitimization of incompetences. Thus, the transmission/acquisition of specific knowledge is fundamentally a divisive function in the school.

it is regulative discourse which regulates what counts as legitimate order. Thus, pedagogic practice is an attempt to control the transformation of pupils' experience within the specific social relation of transmission-acquisition.¹⁴ It is important to note, in this respect, that the organisation of knowledge, the organisation of time, and the organisation of space, indirectly or directly constitute the experience of pupils in the context of reproduction.

According to the view presented above, pedagogic practice may be considered as the articulation, or the inter-relation between two practices regulated by Pedagogic discourse: instructional practice concerned with the selection, transmission and evaluation of the legitimate knowledge to be acquired, and its entailed competences; and regulative practice, which is imbedded in the instructional, concerned with the positioning of pupils in the legitimate order.

The transmission of a dominant system of rules (and symbols) of order, relation and identity occupies a crucial and essential place in regulative practice.

Basic to the analysis of pedagogic practice is the distinction between discourse and practice. We have said that Pedagogic discourse is a specialised category which entails its own rules and principles. These rules and principles would constitute what metaphorically can be called the grammar of the discourse. These rules and principles regulate what counts as legitimate practices, for example, pedagogic

14. In Bourdieu's view, the practice of the school is concerned with the production of individuals equipped with the system of unconscious (or deeply buried) master-patterns that constitute their culture. See Bourdieu (1967).

practice.¹⁵ Practice can be considered as the form of realisation of discourse and the means of its reproduction. What is the relation between Pedagogic discourse and pedagogic practice? The analysis of this relation may elucidate the modes of determination schematised in our model. We postulate the following assumptions.

To begin with, we can say that the I/R (instructional/regulative) components of Pedagogic discourse function as determining categories of pedagogic practice. In other words, Pedagogic discourse sets the limits, theoretically, ideologically and methodologically to pedagogic practices. This means that of all possible forms of pedagogic practice, Pedagogic discourse restricts the range and type of the transmission/acquisition/evaluation practices, within a specific legitimate order.

However, this does not imply a rigid and mechanistic regulation of pedagogic practices. Within the limits set by a given Pedagogic discourse (grammar) there exist a range of possible variations of pedagogic practice (PP). We must add that this discursive regulation does not imply that pedagogic practice is necessarily transformed by Pedagogic discourse (PD). Changes in the principles of Pedagogic discourse (and its underlying assumptions) do not necessarily produce (automatically) changes in pedagogic practices. We can give examples of educational reform in which the relations between Pedagogic discourse - level of rules and regulations - and pedagogic practice - level of realisations - may lead to contradictions between agents/agencies of production of Pedagogic discourse and agents of pedagogic practices.

15. It is in this sense that Bernstein argues that "The voice sets the limits of what can be a legitimate message" or that "message is dependent upon voice". (See 1981:11-20.)

In other words, structural variations in Pedagogic discourse do not bring automatically structural changes in pedagogic practices. This discrepancy between what the grammar calls for (PD) and what is spoken (PP) may well give rise to a change in the grammar. Here we can see one source of dynamic of PD.

In a more specific way, we consider that every pedagogic practice presupposes the existence of a specific order, constituted, legitimated and regulated by the rules and principles of regulative discourse. However, this order regulated by Pedagogic discourse which creates, demarcates and legitimates the communicative principles of pedagogic practices may be broken, rejected or resisted in the pedagogic practices. At the same time, pedagogic practice is expected to reproduce specific competences whose features and relations are legitimated by instructional discourse. The reproduction of specific competences/incompetences is relatively complex as it implies the regulation of transmission, acquisition and evaluation. Evaluation condenses in itself both the grammar and its realisations. It is the point in which power speaks explicitly. If the grammar of transmission attempts to impose homogeneity on the grammar of acquisition, evaluation (grammar of evaluation) sets the conditions, principles and rules which - appropriating Foucault - ensures the distribution of legitimate speaking subjects into the different types of discourse made available to certain categories of subjects. In other words, evaluation whilst ensuring the reproduction of the classification, and through this, the distribution of power, appears inbedded in the "normalisation" or homogeneity assigned to index acquisition. Now, we can see how evaluation can maintain a given distribution of power within the range of varieties, and "equalities" introduced by the framing of the transmission. Evaluation in essence, is what the pedagogic device is about: it celebrates the distribution of

power through the "demarcation, insulations, de-locations" of discourses, and through the formalisation of the grammar of their reproduction within the limitations and exclusions of a specific culture of discourse.¹⁶

From this perspective, we can say that pedagogic practice arises out of the inter-relations of two specialised discourses, instructional and regulative, which set the limits, realisations, and possibilities for pedagogic practice. A complex set of variations, changes and contradictions may arise between pedagogic practice and its regulating discourse. These variations and contradictions have their sources in the relations between transmitters and acquirers, as these relations generate realisations relatively independent of the assumptions, principles, rules and regulations of Pedagogic discourse.

The relations (and contradictions) between Pedagogic discourse, pedagogic practice, subject and object can be schematised as follows (Figure 9).

It must be noted that the set of positions within and between recontextualising fields external to the school are a source of variation of the realisations of the principles of the grammar of PD and may well generate movements for a change in the grammar itself.

16. Two points on this issue: (1) Evaluation enables the transmitter, whilst transmitting knowledge, to position the pupil into a whole field of discourse. (2) Through evaluation each individual receives his own status, his own individuality, and more specifically his own voice. Evaluation makes the boundaries that characterises a subject and gives him "a voice" (Bernstein, 1981). Finally, as Foucault says, evaluation "is the centre of the procedures that constitute the individual as effect and object of power, as effect and object of knowledge" (Foucault, 1977:184-192).

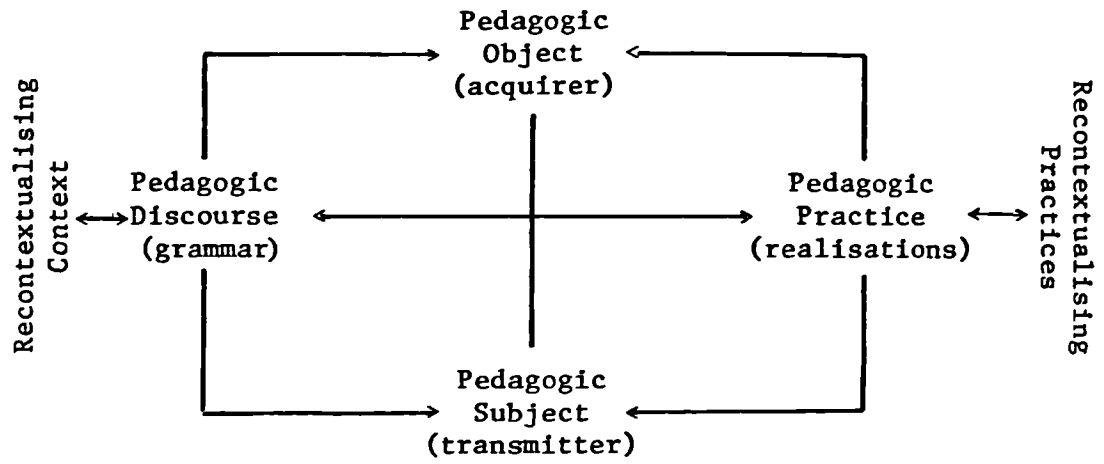


Figure 9

Bibliography

- Bernstein, B. (1977) Class, Codes and Control: Vol. 3, Towards a Theory of Educational Transmissions, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bernstein, B. (1981) "Codes, Modalities and the Process of Cultural Reproduction: A Model", Anglo American Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1.
- Bernstein, B. (1982) "Preface", Educational Analysis, Vol. 3, No. 1.
- Bernstein, B., Seminars.
- Bourdieu, P. (1967) "Systems of Education and Systems of Thought" in Young, M.F.D. (ed.) (1981), Knowledge and Control, London: Macmillan.
- Delamont, S. (1976) Interaction in the Classroom, London: Methuen.
- Durkheim, E. (1977) The Evolution of Educational Thought, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. (Originally published in 1938.)
- Edwards, A. (1980) "Patterns of Power and Authority in Classroom Talk" in Woods, P. (ed.) (1980), Teacher Strategies, London: Croom Helm.
- Flanders, N.A. (1970) Analysing Teaching Behaviour, New York: Addison-Wesley.
- Foucault, M. (1977) Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books. (Originally published in French in 1975.)
- Foucault, M. (1972) The Archaeology of Knowledge, London: Tavistock Publications. (Originally published in French in 1969.)
- Hamilton, D. (1973) "The Integration of Knowledge: Practice and Problems", Journal of Curriculum Studies, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 146-155.
- Hargreaves, D.H. (1975) Interpersonal Relations and Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Hargreaves, D.H. et al. (1975) Deviance in Classrooms, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Roth, J.A. (1963) Timetables: Structuring the Passage of Time in Hospital Treatment and Other Careers, New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co.
- Silberman, C.E. (1973) The Open Classroom Reader, New York: Vintage Books.

Stebbins, R.A. (1976) "Physical Context Influences on Behaviour: The Case of Classroom Disorderliness", Environment and Behaviour, Vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 291-314.

Stubbs, M. and Delamont, S. (eds.) (1976) Explorations in Classroom Observations, Chichester: Wiley.

Woods, P. (1979) The Divided School, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Young, T.R. and Beardsley, P. (1968) "The Sociology of Classroom Teaching: A Micro-Functional Analysis", Journal of Educational Thought, Vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 175-186.

CHAPTER FIVE

SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONAL DISCOURSE (SID)

Introduction

This chapter is concerned with Specific Instructional Discourse. Here we will consider SID as a category underlying pedagogic practices (instructional practices) controlling the transmission, acquisition and evaluation of specific knowledge (facts, procedures, practices and judgements) basic to the acquisition of specialised competences. In a very descriptive form, this discourse refers to the organisation of instruction, which articulates a complex of conceptual categories (theories of instruction), rules and principles regulating the organisation of knowledge into specific discursive units and the practices of their transmission, acquisition and evaluation in the social relations between transmitters and acquirers. From this descriptive view, SID concerns basically formal education. We see SID as separated from other principles and rules (other IDs) regulating acquisition in other social contexts, such as the home (see later development).

General Characteristics of SID

SID presupposes a prior social division of labour of transmitters, acquirers, discourses and sites; that is, it presupposes a fundamental principle of classification. However, SID can initiate, under certain conditions, a change in the principle of classification. From this point of view, SID presupposes power relations and at the same time reproduces and legitimises these power relations. For example, when school subjects are strongly classified in the sense that they are separate and distinguishable

discourses then any SID if it is concerned to change the relations between these discourses, or between teacher/pupils will find itself in conflict with the power relations constituting the relations between existing discourses, teachers, pupils, sites. Further, SID presupposes the process of recontextualising whereby discourses have been removed from their context of production, transformed and transferred to the context of reproduction.¹

Thus, SID underlies the social division of labour involved in the selection and the constitution of legitimate categories of instruction (transmitters, acquirers, discourse) and the social relations whereby instructional practices (social relations of instruction) are realised. We present these relations in the following figure (Figure 10):

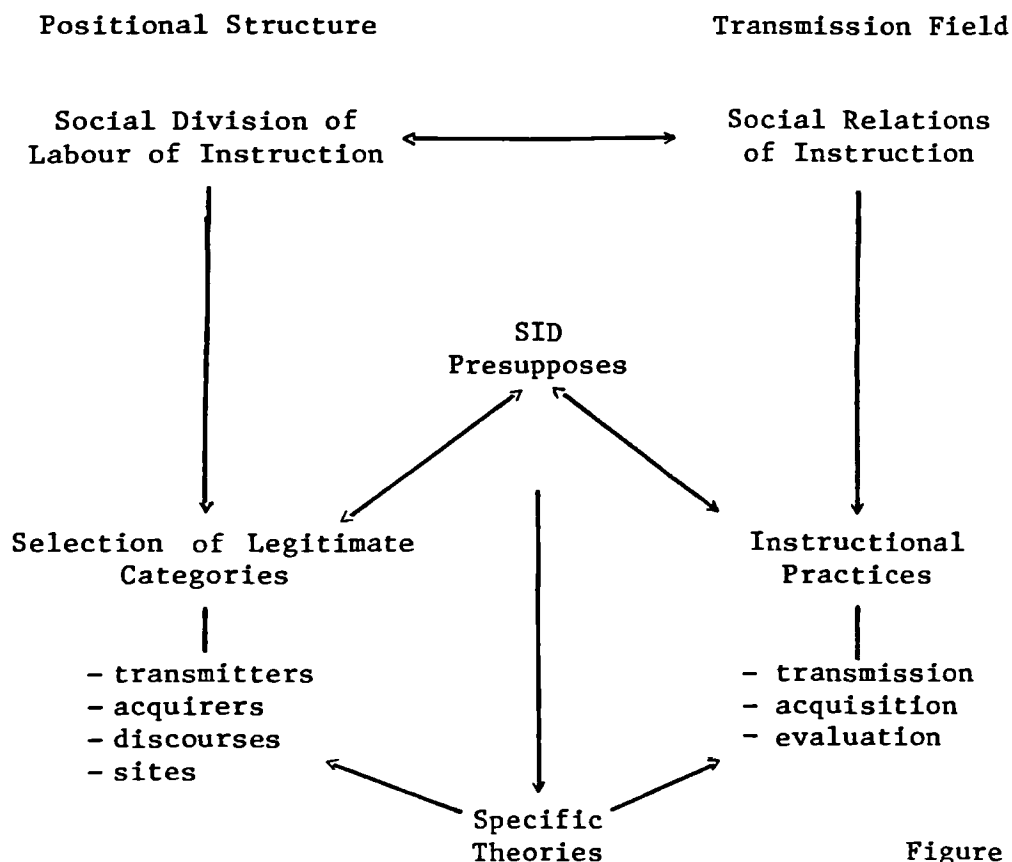


Figure 10

1. We are referring to SID or SRD as a shorthand for a complex network of social relations. It is not our intention to reify these discourses.

Now we will essay a more specific definition of SID. We can say according to our initial considerations that SID entails theories underlying the specific instructional practices realised in the specific sites of acquisition (schools, classrooms) and it also entails a set of rules and principles regulating the specific form of transmissions, acquisition, evaluation through which the variety of and internal and relational features of specialised competences are legitimised (Bernstein, Seminars). More specifically, SID constitutes the principles and rules which regulate the production/reproduction of specialised competences.

Invisibly present in a given SID are two groups of theories which may or may not be related. A group of theories regulates "what" is to be transmitted and another regulates the "how" of the transmission.

What. Here, we must distinguish two not necessarily connected processes. One process refers to the selection of the set of discourses constituting a given SID. Here we have a fundamental classificatory principle which specialises the set. A second classificatory principle regulates the horizontal and vertical ordering within the set. Behind this classificatory principles is a complex recontextualising process whereby discourses/practices external to SID are de-located, re-focused, ideologically re-positioned and re-located. From this point of view a curriculum is the surface realisation of this complex underlying regulation.

The principle of classification is the principle regulating the formation of a given set of SIDs, fixing limits, redefining boundaries and giving rise to the "policing" of the constitution of SIDs. We can distinguish the following classification of SIDs along a strong/weak dimension:

- a. The strength of the classification of the set of discourses and its relations to the internal classification of the set. (A set can consist of one discourse in which case this would represent the strongest classification.);
- b. The number of what counts as different discourses in the set. Sets will vary according to rules of exclusion and inclusion;
- c. The stability of the set in time;
- d. The focusing of the set, manual/mental, "cultivated", "specialist", "pastoral", "vocational", etc.;
- e. The number of different sets, the relations between these sets and the degree to which such sets are specialised to groups of acquirers.²

How. Here we are referring to the theories of transmission and theories of acquisition which entail a recontextualising process and therefore an ideological repositioning of these theories.

Theories of "what" and "how" lie behind the intrinsic principles of the grammar of SID. These theories of the "what" and "how" may be either in a superordinate or subordinate relations to each other. It is possible, for example, for a theory of acquisition to dominate the theory of transmission and bring a change in the set of discourses and their internal ordering. On the other hand, the "what" can dominate the selection of the "how".

A Model of Production/Reproduction of SID

We consider that the production/reproduction of specific instructional.

2. We will return to this problem in a later chapter.

discourse (SID) implies the articulation of different fields and contexts together with their respective agents (producers and re-producers), positions (power relations) and practices. In general terms these are:

a. Intellectual field of education

Or primary contextualising field is the field where educational knowledge is produced, positioned and legitimised. Here to be called the "intellectual field of education" (Bernstein, 1981) in which specific theories of the "how" are produced together with the discourses of the "what".

b. Recontextualising context

This is the context in which specific agencies, with their agents, positions and practices, are concerned with the what and how of SID and with the transformation of theories into instructional principles and rules regulating the features, relations and practices of transmission/acquisition of selected knowledge.³ The positions of power within these agencies define the legitimacy of SID, its dominant theoretical basis, principles and rules.

c. Context of reproduction

It is the context in which SID through its own grammar regulates instructional practices. Here, SID is a condition for the development of competences, and for the organisation of acquisition. In the context of reproduction, acquisition is broken down into the formal sequences, given by SID. The order of acquisition is prescribed.

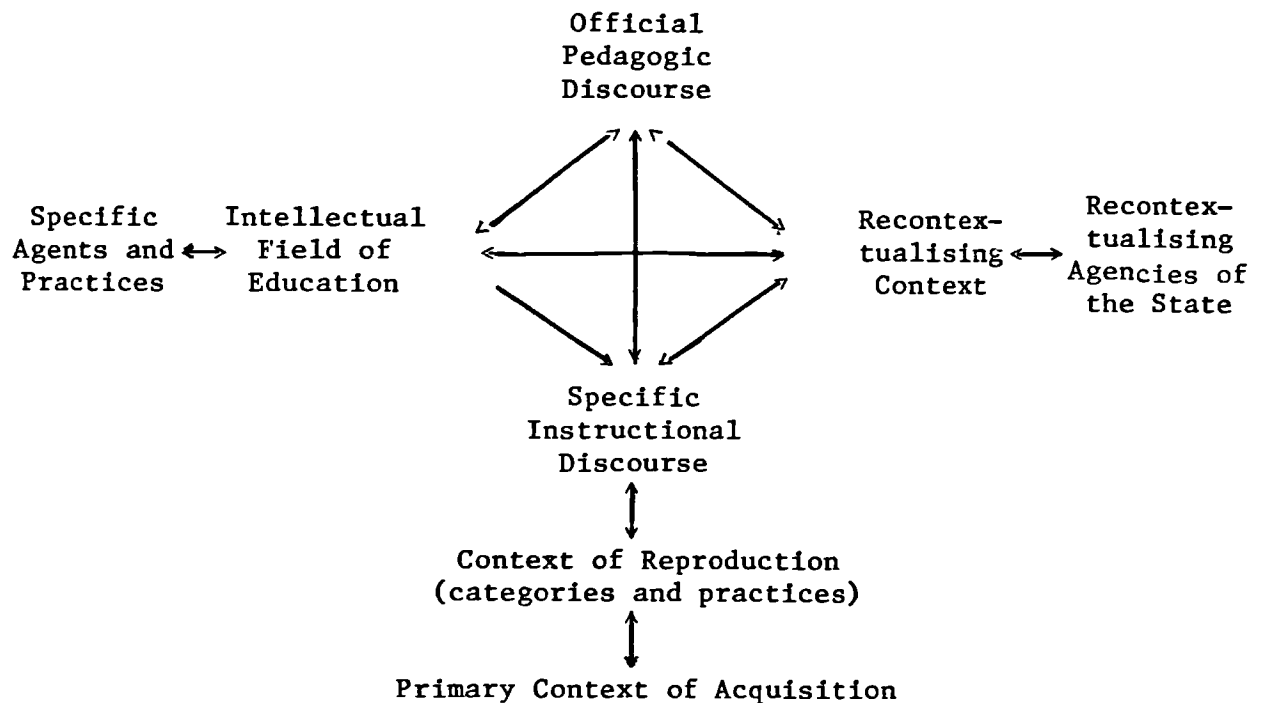
3. This context is not necessarily parasitic. Under conditions of permitted autonomy it can introduce theories into the intellectual field of education from the general field of the production of discourse or from other contexts.

d. Primary context of acquisition

This refers to the family and its social network and to the community in which it is imbedded. A systematic analysis of this context is developed in a later chapter.

According to the above perspective we propose a provisional model (Figure 11) which refers to the complex set of relations through which SID is produced/reproduced.

Figure 11 Social Relations of Production/Reproduction of Specific Instructional Discourse



Now we will attempt to develop this model:⁴

4. We shall remind the reader that this is a simplified and restricting modelling of the complex recontextualising field, sub-fields and practices. To develop a model to take into account this complexity would be a major activity in its own right. We shall, however, in Part II, develop a systematic description and analysis of the recontextualising agencies of the State (State Pedagogic Agencies).

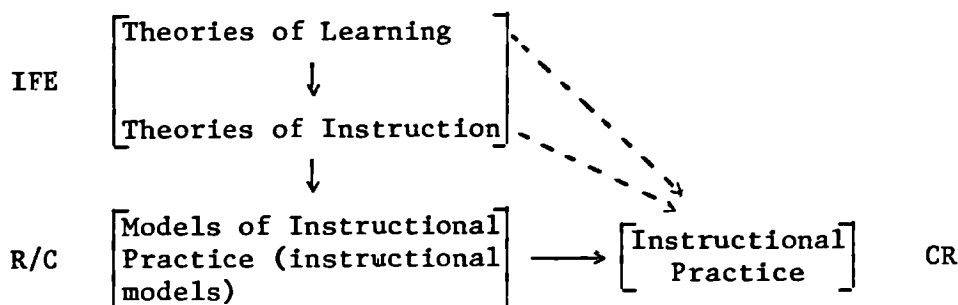
a. Intellectual Field of Education

This is the field of production of discourse of education, where knowledge of the "what" and "how" is produced, modified, developed and changed. All these theories are produced within a network of inter-discursive relations.⁵ The production of theories of instruction may bring together theories of learning, development, knowledge, language.⁶ As an example we can see that Bruner's theory of instruction has been developed on the basis of Piaget's theory of cognitive development (Lundgren, 1977; Ing, 1978). Bruner himself (1966, 1974) has recognised Piaget's influence, and has established the basis for the definition of a theory of instruction. Another example can be given by Gestalt psychology which was applied in the USA in the form of integrative curriculum (Linskie, 1977). In the same way, we can consider the long Thorndike tradition which has exerted, together with Bobbit (1918), a great influence on the organisation of instructional models. (See, for example, the works by Tyler, 1950; Taba, 1952; and the work by Bloom, 1956; on objectives taxonomy.)

We consider that theories of learning constitute a set of positions and propositions, specifically produced to explain the events of acquisition

5. This field itself entails a continuous process of recontextualising within relatively stable and often competing paradigms. In some zones the paradigms are not particularly stable, for example, sociology, psychology, and those areas included in what has been called the Human sciences. However, we find today that the assumptions of physics are in a process of change. It may be that we can distinguish between pedagogic devices in terms of their degree of stability or instability or the recontextualising process, that is, the strength of the rules of inclusion/exclusion to the dominant recontextualising field.
6. These theories and others (resources, organisation, etc.) have been considered as components of what has been called the "ideology of education". (See Meigham and Brown, 1980.)

(behaviour and performance). Theories of learning⁷ attempt to explain the psychosocial activity entailed in the process of acquisition of ideas, notions and generalised knowledge (Hilgard, 1973). In this sense, Bruner considers that theories of learning, and of development, are descriptive rather than prescriptive. However, there exist great differences between such theories in terms of their definition of "acquisition" which have crucial social implications. These differences affect the selection of instructional theories regulating instructional practices. These relations may be schematised as follows:⁸



IFE - Intellectual Field of Education

R/C - Recontextualising Context

CR - Context of Reproduction

Thus, for example, the instructional practices which apply the framework of behavioural psychology to the classroom are based upon

-
7. It may be useful to distinguish between theories of learning which privilege the process of transmission and theories of learning which privilege the process of acquisition and in so doing privilege the process of competence rather than performance (Piaget, Gestalt, Chomsky).
 8. The models of instructional practice could be considered a re-contextualising of the theories of learning and of the theories of instruction. They create the image of instructional practices.

behavioural theories of instruction for which instruction "is equated to the conditioning of desired behaviour" (Romiszovsky, 1981), or deliberate manipulation of the environment of another to get him/her to engage in specific behaviours as responses to specific situations (Corev, 1967). These theories of instruction are based on a definition of acquisition "as an observable change in behaviour" or as "the process of progressive behaviour adaptation", and are not related to processes internal to the individual (Skinner, 1958). The central doctrine of this perspective (behavioural perspective) is that conditioning is the basic unit of learning. Conditioning here refers to the connection between a response and the previous stimulus. Thus, learning, from this view, is basically dependent on the immediate nature of the stimulus (Skinner, op. cit.).⁹

For the behaviourist psychologist, "learning refers to the process which produces progressive series of changes in behaviour and experience." This assumption presupposes that learning is a visible act, the progression of which may be basically facilitated by external control. From this perspective, theories of instruction derived from behavioural theories of learning have fundamentally centred around the facilitation of the conditions of the transmission. Theories of instruction, in this case, are more concerned with learning outcomes than with the learning process itself, and with the explicit control of the whole process of transmission/acquisition. (See, for example, Gagne's instructional theory, 1970; 1974). Learning outcomes, in this view, are more related to the acquisition

9. Under the behaviourist schools of thought, a stimulus is an agency (in Skinner's terms) or force, external to a receptor, which is capable of exciting a response in a suitable receptor. From this perspective, there is no reaction without stimulation ... spontaneous conduct is not possible and behaviour (observable unit) results only from stimulation. (See Skinner, 1958; Hilgard, 1973.)

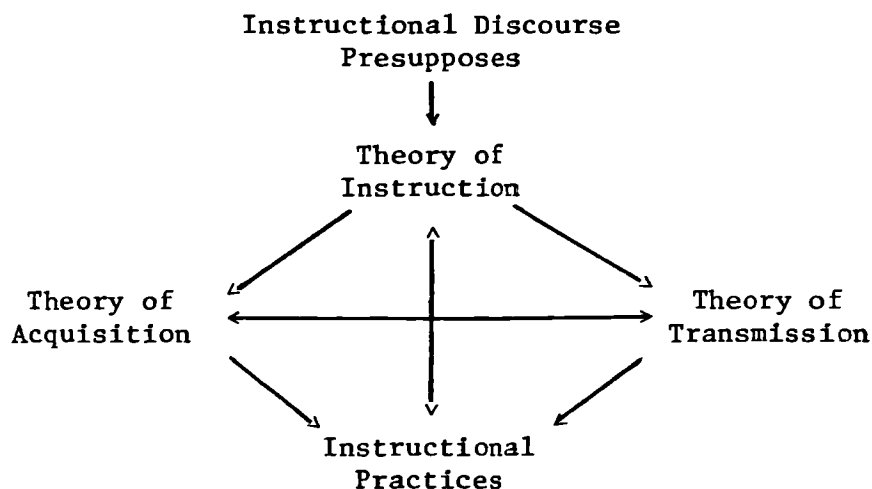
of particular repertoires of performances - based upon isolated skills and habits - than upon the acquisition of competence.

A rather different example can be seen in the theories of instruction based upon developmental models (Piaget's theory of cognitive development, Bruner's patterns of growth, Gestalt theory).¹⁰ These theories see learning as a more complex process which involves the acquirer's participation, and which entails a particular logic of acquisition not simply dependent on the external stimulus. This does not mean that these theories do not take into account the influences of external factors. From a developmental point of view, interaction plays an important role, "child's thought and action is changed by experience, but experience itself is changed as a direct result of the child's maturing mental operations and motor coordinations ... what a child learns is always a product of experience that is itself conditioned by the levels of cognitive development " (El Kind, 1976), or of the natural capacity for reaction, in Gestalt's terms. Learning for these theories is more concerned with the acquisition of competence for the realisation of different practices (performances). Bruner, for example, considers that "learning to be skillful with a body of knowledge is much like learning a language, its rules for forming and transforming sentences, its vocabulary, its semantic markers, etc. As with language, there is also the interesting feature in all such learning that what is learned is initially outside the learner - as a discipline of learning, as a subject matter, as a notional system" (Bruner, 1974;127).

10. There exists similarity among these theories of learning. Thus, for example, for Piaget, learning is an active process as knowledge is a construction from within; for Bruner, growth is characterised by an increasing independence of stimulus, and for the Gestalt theory, learning is an internal structuring process (Hilgard, 1973; Bruner, 1974).

As we can see, the assumptions about acquisition involved in theories of learning have become the ideological sources of instructional theories. These theories, in turn, predicate specific models of instruction on which specific instructional practices are to be realised.

In a more specific way, the intellectual field of education produces the constitutive theoretical elements of the theories of instruction which in our view inter-relates a theory of acquisition with a theory of transmission. These theories entail principles and rules for the regulation of instructional practices. These relations can be schematised as follows:



Perhaps one of the most interesting insertions in theories of instruction over the last decades is theories of language as distinct from textbook grammars. We cannot unfortunately develop this point here but we can draw attention to the ideological arena and controversies created by different theories of language. As the issue of language acquisition has become more and more central to the educational process theories of language have been used to redefine the acquirers' positions in the transmission, to redefine the practices of the transmission and to redefine legitimate communication both within and outside

the school. From this point of view, theories of language have been used to weaken classification of discourse in order to change the pedagogic positioning of dominated social groups (class, gender, race). These theories of language, especially socio-linguistic theories, have reinforced the position of competence rather than performance theories of instruction. Within the sociological, and more specifically the socio-linguistic field, three themes have cut across the educational practices. Edwards (1982) has summarised these as the theories of social class, communicative performance, and interaction in the classroom.

b. Recontextualising Context

As we have said, the recontextualising context is that context whose agents, positions and practices are concerned with the transformations of texts/practices from the primary context of discursive production (in the intellectual field) to the secondary context and discursive reproduction. The question here is how different discourses and different theories of instruction are selected and enter into educational institutions, decisions and practices. We consider that the "what" and "how" of instruction may be restricted to diverse groups of agents and agencies within the limits and definitions of legal sanctions.

Accordingly we find in this context a close relation between instructional discourse and ideological practice. Instructional discourse, in this case, becomes the legitimate device regulating the status, the conditions of exercise and the functioning of the practices controlling the transmission/acquisition/evaluation of the educational competences within the context of reproduction.¹¹ More specifically, instructional

11. Compare, for example, the status, the functioning of the practices and the competences provided by academic discourse and vocational discourse. (See, in this respect, Grignon, 1971.)

discourse, as a product of the recontextualising of knowledge, becomes a recontextualising device of competences acquired outside of the school. This means that SID presupposes competences which are more specialised than the competences acquired in the primary contextualising context (family, peer groups, community). The acquisition of new competences in the school may involve, then, for some children a change in the what, when, and how of their learning performances in the home. From this perspective there may well be differences or similarities between the theory of instruction of the school and the theory of instruction of the home.

We have said in preceding sections that the recontextualising context entails a number of agencies, positions and practices. Here, our concern will be limited to the recontextualising agencies of the State, that is, to those agencies which have formal power to define the rules and principles of SID for the regulation of knowledge, competences and modalities of transmission-acquisition to be reproduced.

Recontextualising agencies. We have said that the recontextualising agencies of the State, usually located in, or regulated by the Ministry of Education, are concerned with the provision of a rational systematisation of knowledge embodied in instructional discourse. At the same time these recontextualising agencies provide the legitimate rules and principles of SID for the regulation of the instructional practices.¹² Our discussion of the recontextualising agencies of the State has brought out the possibility of studying the power relations inherent in the definition of instructional discourse and in the selection

12. The relation between the State and the recontextualising agencies depends upon the degree of autonomy of these agencies, and this varies from society to society. Similarly, the selection and the organisation of knowledge to be acquired again depends upon the degree of regulation of the State over the form and content of education.

of the legitimate principles regulating the practices controlling transmission/acquisition of the specific competences presupposed by SID.

In this respect, we can find two different kinds of regulations: we can consider, first, the existence of a number of agencies whose powers tend to affect, directly or indirectly, the definition of what counts as educational knowledge and of the rules and principles of its reproduction. Eggleston (1977) describes, for example, how the effect of these decisions on the distribution, evaluation and definition of educational knowledge in the history of education in England has become increasingly complex. He quotes a great number of groups and organisations which have played a powerful role in the process of the determination of the educational knowledge to be reproduced: publishers, pressure groups, the specialist agencies and cadres within the educational service itself, professional associations, the teachers, employers, parents and local communities are among others the organisations involved in the determination of educational discourse. According to Eggleston, this form of determination shows a change from prescribed forms of selection, transmission and evaluation of knowledge to achieved forms.

Secondly, the definition of the selection of what counts as educational knowledge, and of the rules and principles of its reproduction may be subordinated to specific recontextualising agencies (Pedagogic agencies) more dependent upon the political and legal regulations of the State. In this case, the recontextualising agencies constitute those agencies which actually make decisions about what can go into the context of reproduction. The centralised control over the selection of discourse and over the rules and principles of its reproduction is accomplished - in this case - through bureaucratic regulations

and procedures, which, in turn, leads to major prescription and control over the context of reproduction.¹³

Official instructional discourse (Official discourse on instructional discourse). In countries where there exists a centralised authority and political direction on the State over the selection, transmission and evaluation of knowledge, the Pedagogic Agencies of the State organised on specific bureaucratic principles constitute a powerful machinery for the organisation and control of the levels, sites, positions and practices of the context of reproduction. Devices such as regulations, norms, decrees, programmes, guidelines, policies plans, projects, recommendations and other kinds of official texts, provided by Pedagogic Agencies and legitimised by virtue of legality as official regulations on instruction, constitute the domain of what can be called Official instructional discourse. From this perspective, Official instructional discourse is a particular sub-category of Official discourse, concerned with the regulation of the instructional practices.¹⁴

The Pedagogic Agencies of the State appropriate and recontextualise specialised discourses and theories of the intellectual field and these

-
13. We must note that, even in this case, the control by the Pedagogic Agencies of the State on the selection of educational discourse and on the rules and principles of its reproduction varies according to: (a) the educational system; (b) the levels of the context of reproduction; and (c) the power relations between teachers, pupils, parents, community and the Pedagogic Agencies of the State.
 14. We should distinguish between states which are able to control directly SID (Sweden, France, most Latin American countries) from those like the United Kingdom where until recently the control over SID was indirect (except for religion). We can see in the UK a gradual development (increasing in rate) of the State's attempt to control directly SID at all levels including higher education, as part of the metaphor of accountability and responsibility.

become the means through which they attempt to order acquisition.¹⁵

In this sense, we can say that Official instructional discourse is an institutionalised and legitimate recontextualised/recontextualising device whose rules and principles regulate and, so, set the out limits of the legitimate realisation of the transmission/acquisition relations, specifically known as instructional practices. The modalities of realisation of instructional practices, in this case, are oriented by the educational knowledge - already selected and recontextualised - and by specific instructional modalities specified in the regulations, guides and all kinds of pedagogic texts produced by Pedagogic Agencies of the State.

Official instructional discourse regulates not only what is to be transmitted but also how it is to be transmitted, acquired and evaluated and to whom it is to be distributed. In the explicit centralised educational systems of Latin America there is a low degree of autonomy accorded by the State. As a consequence, Official pedagogic discourse explicitly and implicitly regulates modalities of transmission, acquisition and evaluation. In Bernstein's terms, rules of hierarchy, sequence, pacing and criteria are subject to close State regulation. It may be that the major difference between highly centralised and less centralised State systems of education lies in the degree and range of explicit and specific regulations rather than in the absence of regulations.¹⁶

15. It is important to note that Pedagogic Agencies do not accomplish only a pedagogic role, they are political agencies, responsible for the definition of a specific culture of the school, and of a policy of reproduction within the context of reproduction. We cannot separate, in this case, the pedagogic role of these agencies from their political role.

16. In the UK control over the dominant SID (academic discourse) is managed by control by the universities over evaluation of "O" levels and "A" levels examination. Different universities set up different requirements for entry with respect to the number and grade of

Instructional Practices

In a general sense, instructional practices can be described as the positioning and socialisation of the acquirer into specific meanings, selected, abstracted and refocused through the recontextualising process entailed in the transmission of specific competences. These meanings embodied in the form of SID produce the basis for the constitution of specific competences and their internal and relational features.

In a more specific sense, instructional practices may be considered as specialised interactional practices regulating the transmission/acquisition/evaluation of specific knowledge.¹⁷ These instructional practices presuppose the existence of specialised categories of transmitters and acquirers and of specific social relations between them. Here, we will try to analyse the social relations imbedded in the form of instructional practices.

The social relations of transmission/acquisition/evaluation of specific knowledge, according to Bernstein, are regulated by two basic rules:

1. Hierarchical rules: these determine the form of the power relations between transmitters and acquirers.

16. cont'd

passes required. However, the State by restricting or expanding the number of places available at the university and, even more, by ruling which discourses are candidates for stability, expansion or reduction indirectly effect what is evaluated and the level of evaluation and so, in turn, what is taught. It would be of importance to study the management of Official pedagogic discourse in societies with different degrees of explicit centralised control. .

17. As a specialised practice, instructional practice realised in school may be different from the practices regulating the acquisition of performances and procedures in primary contextualising contexts (i.e. family, community, peer groups).

2. Discursive rules: these regulate the selection, sequencing, pacing and criteria of the transmission.




These rules define the form of control transmitters and acquirers may have over the acquisition process. Thus, from Bernstein's analysis, it is possible to describe variations in the social relations of instruction in terms of the variations in the hierarchical rules, and variations in the discursive rules in terms of the variations in the selection, sequencing, pacing and criteria of the transmission/acquisition process.¹⁸

The variations in the rules constituting the social relations of instruction give rise to three major modalities of instruction: one modality which may be described as a didactic, formal or teacher-controlled instructional practice; another, which may be described as an informal, inquirer-centred and discovery-oriented practice; and a third modality, which articulates an apparent indirect modality of instruction but which is explicitly regulated by rules of direct instruction.¹⁹ An example of this latter modality will be given in the analysis of so-called "oriented learning", defined by the 1976's pedagogic reform in Colombia.

-
18. The hierarchical rules would constitute the rules of order between transmitters and acquirers, while selection, sequencing, pacing and criteria would be concerned with the development of the discourse; variations in hierarchical rules can be independent of variations in the sequencing, pacing and criteria. We will refer to this aspect later.
 19. There have been a number of attempts to describe instructional ideologies. We find among others approaches the child centred vs. teacher centred (Plowden Report, 1967), open teaching vs. closed teaching (Khol, H., 1969), Authoritarian vs. democratic (Lippit, R. and White, R., 1958), traditional vs. progressive (Bennet, 1976), transmission vs. interpretation (Barnes and Shemilt, 1974), and others. These approaches are descriptive and do not seek in their analysis to the intrinsic and underlying rules which regulate both social relations between transmitters and acquirers and the reproduction of the discourse.

We we call, provisionally, this third modality, a "masked modality of instructional practice".

Let us examine in more detail these instructional modalities²⁰ generated by variations in the social relations between transmitters and acquirers (hierarchical rules) and in the rules regulating the reproduction of the discourse (sequencing, pacing, criteria).²¹

(a) Direct instructional practice	D	
(b) Indirect instructional practice	I	
(c) Masked modality of instructional practice	I/D	

1. The first modality can be called direct instruction. This modality presents the characteristics of what Bernstein has called "visible pedagogy": a teacher-centred focus, little student choice of activity, use of large homogeneous and stable groups, rather than small flexible groups of instruction. Here the teacher becomes an explicit controller of the teaching-learning situation. Acquisition becomes explicitly dependent on the transmission. The sequencing and pacing of knowledge already selected becomes explicit and specific. The criteria for the evaluating of the knowledge are explicit and specific. In this case, the sequencing may be controlled by official pedagogic guides which regulate not only the explicit modality of the acquisition but also the explicit progression of the transmission (performance of the teacher).

20. The analysis of these modalities recreates Bernstein's assumptions about visible and invisible pedagogies. (See Bernstein, 1977; 1981.)

21. We are, of course, aware that not all that is officially prescribed is transmitted, nor all that is transmitted is acquired. The classroom or its equivalent is an arena in which official prescriptions may be followed, varied or broken.

As the principles and modalities of acquisition are explicitly oriented by the teacher, the teacher becomes a "solution giver". This modality reduces the possibility of involving the pupils in decision-making.

There is in this modality a marked and specific fixed space for each pupil; in other words, "the space is strongly classified" (Bernstein, 1977:134).²² The instructional time is marked by fixed periods; schedules are rigid. The progression of the transmission is ordered in time, by explicit rules. This means that there must be only one rhythm of acquisition. If the interactional strategies of the transmission-acquisition process can be considered as a reciprocal network between two grammars, that of the acquirer and that of the transmitter, then, in the case of Direct instruction, the grammar of the acquirer is expected to be the mirror of the normalising grammar of the transmission.²³

Within Direct instruction the power of the teacher for making decisions about the selection of knowledge may vary according to the degree of centralisation of the decisions. That is, the extent to which the selection and organisation of educational knowledge is constrained by bureaucratic decisions produced in the Pedagogic Agencies of the State. In the case of centralised educational systems teachers

22. We find an example of strongly classified space in the description of Rathbone (1972) of a traditional classroom: "each child has his own chair and desk and all are arrayed in rows, aligned as one grid, each equi-distant from the other. In many cases, this organisation is permanently imposed, the desks being literally bolted to the floor." See also Plowden Report.

23. Here, we consider that the instructional model lies in the most orthodox pedagogic tradition, born in the "general pedagogy" of Herbart, which has been maintained with little variations throughout history. Today, this instructional model has been refocused by the theories of transmission oriented fundamentally to behaviouristic theories of learning.

have a very restricted area of decision. Teachers may also have a restricted area of decision even where the educational system is less centralised, through external control (higher education) over public examination. On the whole, the more privileging the curriculum at secondary and primary level the greater the restriction of the teachers' pedagogic practice. The less privileging the curriculum the less the restriction on the teachers' pedagogic practice.

We should point out that Direct instructional practice can take a variety of forms to include the programming of the pupil by work sheets or through computer-regulated algorithms of learning. In such forms the control of pupils is often limited to their control over pacing, that is, the pupil is permitted to work at his/her own rate.

Direct instruction can produce a range of social types (Weber, 1964). Direct instruction can produce what Weber terms the cultivated types or the specialist type, or emphasise either the intrinsic or extrinsic value of Pedagogic discourse. Thus DI although always concerned with the production of specialised identities is not intrinsically specialised to the production of any particular specialised identity.

2. The second modality of instructional practice we will call "indirect", and it can be defined as a style of teaching involving flexibility of space, students' choice of activity, varied learning materials, integration of curriculum areas and more individualised instruction. This modality may promote new practices for the teacher and make demands for pedagogic innovation in the organisation of knowledge. The principles regulating the social relations of instruction within this modality can be considered according to Bernstein as implicit. Thus, for example, the traditional classroom may be replaced by a number of weakly divided areas where pupils within limits can organise their own work. The

organisation of time is more flexible, that is, children may exhibit within permissible limits their own rhythm of learning. They appear to manage their own grammar of acquisition. In this case, sequencing rules become implicit.

These rules are derived from particular theories of child development, linguistics and ethology. The pacing rules become weak and the criteria implicit. The evaluative system places an emphasis upon ways of knowing rather than upon attaining states of knowledge (Bernstein, 1977:98). This indirect modality of instructional practice is, basically, oriented to personal rather than to positional modalities of control.²⁴

3. We can distinguish a third modality of instructional practice which provisionally we shall call a masked modality. Here we have an apparent indirect theory of acquisition together with a direct theory of transmission which creates in practice a positional modality of control. This means that relative to the power relations of Direct instruction there are no major changes despite a rhetoric calling for cooperation and participation between teachers and pupils in the process of transmission. However, acquisition continues to be regulated by explicit discursive rules of sequencing, pacing and criteria.

This modality can be schematised as follows:

<u>Acquisition</u>	<u>Indirect</u>
Transmission	Direct

24. It does not necessarily, as we shall see, follow that the values of all the rules of social relations and discourse move in the same direction, that is, strong/weak, implicit/explicit.

We consider that behind variations in modalities of instruction we can find changes or variations in the pedagogic ideology underlying the principles and rules of Pedagogic discourse.

So far, we have been considering the modalities of instructional practice generated by the social relations of instruction.²⁵ We have distinguished three main modalities which are dependent both on variations in the hierarchical rules and on variations in the discursive rules. The variations in these rules may be independent of each other, as in the case of a masked modality, or may be in correspondence as in the case of direct and indirect instructional practices.

We can analyse the variations in the social relations of instruction, using Bernstein's principles of classification and framing. The relations between the hierarchical rules and the discursive rules can be schematised in the following figure (Figure 12):

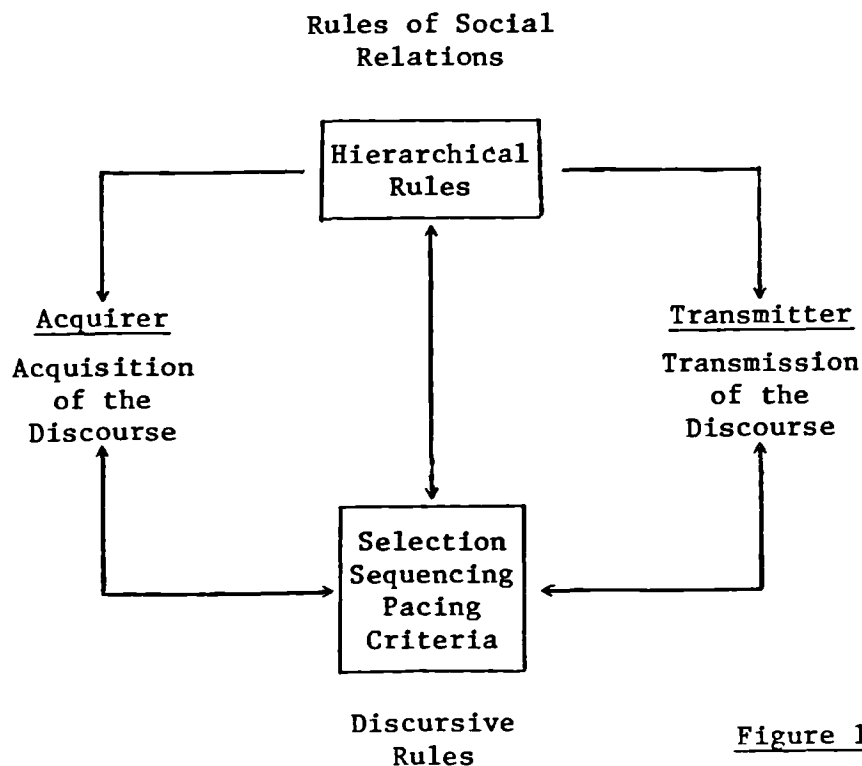


Figure 12

25. We should point out that each modality may well generate its own range of variations.

SID and the Organisation of Time

One of the fundamental features of instructional discourse is the organisation of the temporal frame of reference for the social organisation of instructional practices (temporal elaboration of transmission/acquisition). We propose to call the time system, which enters into the constitution of instructional practices, institutional time.²⁶ The fact that the school is divided into levels, grades, the fact that school marks specific periods of acquisition in relation to the chronological development (age), the control of the progression in acquisition, are examples of the control of temporal development of the educational life of pupils. Time, Foucault says, establishes rhythms, imposes particular occupations, regulate the cycles of repetition, arranges a positive economy of instruction (Foucault, 1977). Institutional instructional time penetrates acquisition and through this it celebrates the school power.²⁷

Within the temporal matrix we can distinguish between those features underlying the structural organisation of acquirers in the context of reproduction, and those features constituting the segmented, serial and equally divided periods of time of the instructional practices. Thus, for example, age constitutes a fundamental feature for the selection

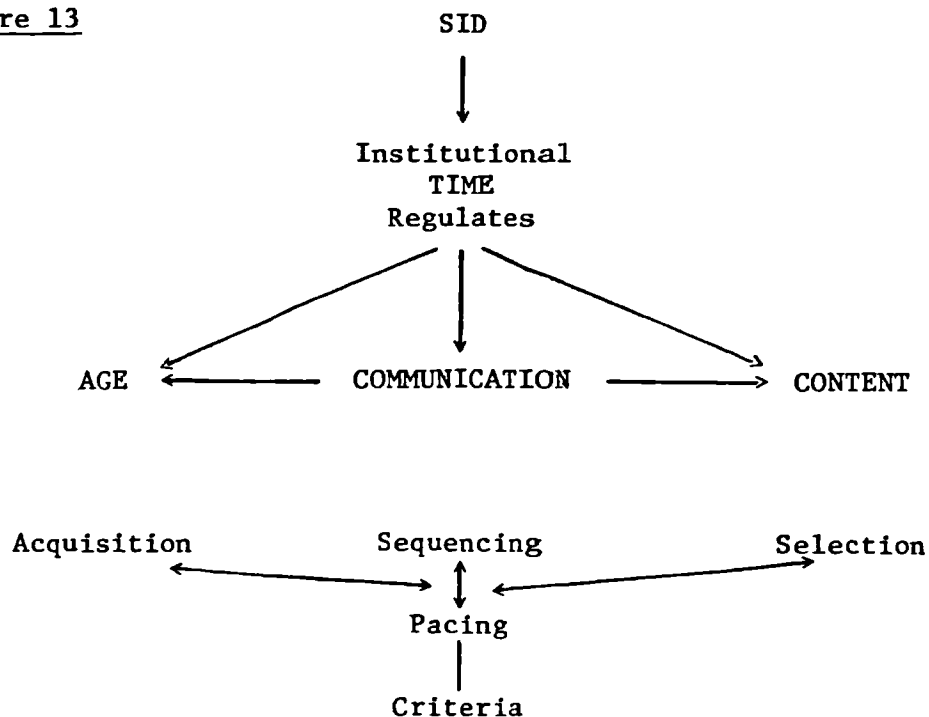
26. It is important to distinguish between the temporal matrix of acquisition constituted in what Bernstein calls Local pedagogic practices realised for example in the family and the temporal matrix organising instructional practices in school.

27. In Foucault's view, what he calls disciplinary time was that time "gradually imposed on pedagogic practice-specialising the time of training and detaching it from the adult time, from the time of mastery; arranging different stages, separated from one another by graded examinations; drawing up programmes, each of which involves exercises of increasing difficulty; qualifying individuals according to the way in which they progress through these series. For the 'initiatory' time of traditional training (an overall time, supervised by the master alone, authorised by a single examination), disciplinary time ... substituted its multiple and progressive series" (Foucault, 1977:159).

of pupils. Age creates rituals of admission or access to, progression, and exit from school; age regulates the selection of the content to be transmitted, and defines settings. From this perspective, the space, in the context of reproduction can only be understood when it is considered with reference to time. In this sense, we can say that the temporal matrix - or institutional time - is implicit or explicit in the institutional structure of the context of reproduction.

In the same way, instructional discourse regulates the realisation of instructional practices through the timing of knowledge in temporal sequences which basically control acquisition. From this point of view, we consider that there exists in instructional practices a temporal regulation of educational reproduction with respect to control of specific contents selected appropriate to age and with respect to a temporal regulation of the communication in terms of the sequencing and pacing (rates of expected acquisition). We will attempt to schematise the above relations as follows (Figure 13):

Figure 13



According to this scheme, what we have called institutional time (the temporal matrix constituting the structure of the context of reproduction, and the features of the instructional practices) varies according to the variation in the principles intrinsic to instructional discourse. In the case of a strong temporal classification we will have an explicit, finally graded stratification of acquirers based in contemporary educational systems upon units of one year. In the case of a weak temporal classification, then, the explicit stratification principle will create strata containing a mixture of ages of acquirers, for example, vertical integration as in the case of some English primary schools. We would like to point out that there is no necessary correlation between variations in the temporal classification and variations in the framing of the transmission (i.e. rules of social relations and discourse). However, this does not mean that there is no necessary inter-relation between the temporal matrix of the structure of the context of reproduction and the temporal features of the communication within the instructional practices.²⁸

The crucial regulator of the control over communication in the pedagogic relation is the classification of the temporal dimension according to age and content which yields the selective principle for the recontextualising of discourse in time, and the pacing rules of the transmission. The pacing rules act selectively upon the socio-linguistic

28. The yearly temporal progression of most modern public educational systems is intrinsically arbitrary. There is no systematic supporting scientific theory which requires intervals in acquisition of this kind. Sometimes the temporal classification is based upon economic principles as in the case of rural schools in areas of low population where it is often usual to have a range of ages in one class. Sometimes practices of evaluation, themselves part of instructional practice, can create weak temporal classification as in the case of schools where acquirers may have to repeat their course. It may be that the year as a cultural unit, as a ritualised time interval, only regulates instructional discourse as an economic and bureaucratic principle, with the development of industrialisation.

rules which generate the legitimate text, spoken, written or visual. For example, where pacing is strong (fast rate of expected acquisition) then we would expect that the written word would be privileged and the textbook would become a crucial means not only for coping with time but also a paradigm for producing a legitimate text. Further, strong pacing effects the productions of descriptions, explanations, narrations, questions/answers, formats, digressions, humour, and produces what we could call the economy of discourse. In this way, we can see the transformations of the grammar of Pedagogic discourse into the grammar of pedagogic practice, into the grammar for the reproduction of specialised forms of pedagogic consciousness of the transmitter and acquirer celebrated and ritualised through, and in the construction of, the legitimate text. Thus, the classification and framing of time are crucial to the transformation of power and control into Pedagogic discourse. It is at this point that we can see the regulative basis of instructional discourse.

Variations in the Code of SID

Variations in the code modalities of instructional practices are a function of the variations of the principles and rules implicit in SID. Variations in the principle of classification of specific categories (transmitters, acquirers, discourse) proceed from a [+C] to a [-C]. Variations in the framing principle proceed from a [+F] to a [-F]. It is important to remark, following Bernstein, that "the strength of the classification and the strength of the framing can vary independently of each other" (Bernstein, 1977). According to this, the basic grammar for the realisation of SID is provided by the relations between [C] and [F] which can be expressed as follows:²⁹

29. When the external values of the framing are strong, then the teacher
.../cont'd

+C	+F
+C	-F
-C	+F
-C	-C

This basic grammar can be used to express the variations in the modality of transmission/acquisition. Thus, classification can refer to the social relations of acquisition in the context of the classroom, whether this is isolated [+C], whether it is interactive [-C], or whether it integrates pupils of different ages [-C]. Classification also refers to the relations between the units of discourse to be transmitted/acquired. These relations can be strongly [+C] or weakly classified [-C]. Thus, we can find the following variations in the pedagogic act of acquisition:

<u>Discourses</u>	<u>Social Relations of Acquisition</u>
+C	+C isolated
-C	-C interactive
	-C different ages

The variations in the hierarchy, selection, sequencing, pacing and criteria can be expressed by [F]. According to this, the variations can be:

29. cont'd

regulates what contents external to the school may activate the instructional practice. As the strong classification of discourses has already defined what is valued as legitimate knowledge, then, those contents which are regarded by the teacher and in general by the school as "not valuable", "deprived" or "deficient" are excluded from the instructional practices and, so, they cannot enter the instructional practices. It is the case that there is generally an association between "valuable" contents which can assist the contents of the school and class positions. Thus, strong framing over the external values acts selectively on the cultural practices the pupil may enact in the school.

<u>Social Rules</u>	Hierarachy	+F	-F
<u>Discursive Rules</u>	Selection	+F	-F
	Sequencing	+F	-F
	Pacing	+F	-F
	Criteria	+F	-F

A set of variations can occur in the realisation of these rules. Thus, it is possible to find strong framing over the selection and relative weak framing over the sequencing/pacing. It is possible to consider that strong framing over the criteria (evaluation) in general determine a strong framing over the selection. We will discuss this point in the analysis of the Colombian code of SID. It is important to note that not all the realisations are possible, some of them are contradictory and unacceptable. Thus, for example, a realisation of the type:

Selection	+F
Sequencing	-F
Pacing	+F
Criteria	-F

is not logically possible in the classroom.

The code realisation of SID at the level of the classroom or equivalent can be given by the relations between the principle of classification of the discourse, of the act of acquisition (social relations of acquirers) and the framing rules of the transmission/acquisition.

It is important to disconnect the intrinsic grammar of SID from the ideological realisations of its codes. From this point of view, the wide range of variations in the realisation of the codes of SID is related to the ideologies of education and their intrinsic theories: theories of knowledge/discourse, theories of learning (acquisition), theories of

teaching (transmission), theories of resources appropriate for learning, theory of organisation of learning, theory of assessment of learning products, theory of aims, objectives, outcomes, etc.

The basic grammar of SID is given by the following formula which expresses the basic relations between [C], [F] and its internal and external values:

$$\underline{(\pm)C \quad (+)F^{ie}}$$

It is possible to distinguish the micro-relations of the external values (^e) from its macro-relations. The micro-relations of the external values concern the regulation of the relations between school and family/community; the macro-relations concern of the regulations between education and production.

Essentially, power punctuates consciousness through the silences produced by the insulations of the classificatory principle. Insulations, Bernstein says, are "intervals, breaks, de-locations which establish categories of similarity and difference; the equal and the unequal; punctuations written by power relations which establish as the order of things distinct subjects through distinct 'voices'" (Bernstein, 1981:13). The insulation serves to create external order as inviolable, natural, and inevitable whilst it attempts to create order internal to the transmitter by the suppression of the contradictions cleavages and dilemmas which inhere in the classification principle itself. Control regulates the framing principle and so the internal grammar of transmission/acquisition. From this point of view, intrinsic to the acquisition of a given code modality is the potential of its change through the tension between order and contradiction.

If we need to know whether the change of a modality of classification is a change in the distribution of power then we require answers to the following questions:

1. In whose interests is the change in classification?
2. What other classifications have retained their previous values?

Any modality of reproduction of specialised competences necessarily entails a logic of power and control, tacitly imbedded in the very acquisition of the principles of SID.

Bibliography

- Barnes, D. and Shemilt, D. (1974) "Transmission and Interpretation", Educational Review, Vol. 26, No. 3.
- Bennett, S.N. (1976) Teaching Styles and Pupil Progress, London: Open Books.
- Bernstein, B. (1977) Class, Codes and Control: Vol. 3, Towards a Theory of Educational Transmissions, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bernstein, B. (1981) "Codes, Modalities and the Process of Cultural Reproduction: A Model", Anglo American Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1.
- Bernstein, B., Seminars.
- Bloom, B.S. et al. (1956) Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, New York: Mckay Co. Inc.
- Bobbit, F. (1918) The Curriculum, Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin.
- Bruner, J. (1966) Toward a Theory of Instruction, London: Oxford University Press.
- Bruner, J. (1974) The Relevance of Education, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books.
- Corey, S.M. (1967) "The Nature of Instruction" in Merrill, D. (ed.) (1971) Instructional Design: Readings, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Department of Education and Science (1967) Plowden Report, Children and Their Primary School, London: HMSO.
- Edwards, A.D. (1982) "The Sociology of Language and Education" in Hartnett, A. (ed.) (1982), The Social Sciences in Educational Studies, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Eggleston, J. (1977) The Sociology of the School Curriculum, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Elkind, D. (1976) Child Development and Education: A Piagetian Perspective, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Foucault, M. (1977) Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books. (Originally published in French in 1975.)

- Gagne, R.M. (1970) The Conditions of Learning, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Gagne, R.M. and Briggs, L.J. (1974) Principles of Instructional Design, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Hilgard, E.R. and Bower, G.H. (1973) Teorias del Aprendizaje, Mexico: Editorial Trillas. (Originally published in English in 1966.)
- Ing, M. (1978) "Learning Theories" in Lawton, D. et al. (eds.) (1978) Theory and Practice of Curriculum Studies, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Grignon, C. (1971) L'Order des Choses: les Fonctions Sociales de l'Enseignement Technique, Paris: Minuit.
- Kohl, H. (1969) The Open Classroom. A Practical Guide to a New Way of Teaching, London: Methuen.
- Linskie, R. (1977) The Learning Process: Theory and Practice, New York: Van Nostrand Company.
- Lippitt, R. and White, R.K. (1958) "An Experimental Study of Leadership and Group Life" in Maccoby, E.E. (ed.) (1958), Readings in Social Psychology, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Lundgren, U.P. (1977) Model Analysis of Pedagogical Processes. Department of Educational Research, Stockholm Institute of Education.
- Meighan, R. and Brown, C. (1980) "Location of Learning and Ideologies of Education: Some Issues Raised by a Study of Education Otherwise" in Barton, L. et al. (eds.) (1980), Schooling Ideology and the Curriculum, Barcome: The Falmer Press.
- Rathbone, CH. (1972) "Examining the Open Education Classroom", School Review, Vol. 80, pp. 521-549.
- Romiszovsky, A.J. (1981) Designing Instructional Systems, London: Kogan Page.
- Skinner, C.E. (1958) Essentials of Educational Psychology, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Taba, H. (1952) Curriculum Development: Theory and Practice, Hartcourt, Brace and World.
- Tyler, R.W. (1950) Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Weber, M. (1964) The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, New York: The Free Press.

CHAPTER SIX

SPECIFIC REGULATIVE DISCOURSE (SRD)

Introduction

In this chapter we will analyse the discourse underlying and regulating the practices through which a given distribution of power between the categories (pupils, teachers), and a dominant regulative order within the context of reproduction are legitimised and maintained. This discourse we shall call "Specific Regulative Discourse". It can be defined as "the rules which regulate what counts as legitimate order between and within transmitters, acquirers, competences and contexts" (Bernstein, Seminars). That is, regulative discourse regulates what counts as legitimate order, relation and identity of the categories and practices of the context of reproduction.

Regulative Discourse in the Context of Reproduction

Schools constitutes the institutional context of reproduction of specific forms of consciousness and identity through the transmission/ reproduction of specific norms and values and their practices of realisation. Within school, a particular consciousness of the child is available to be transformed or developed.¹ This consideration can be extended to the teacher, that is, the teacher's consciousness is not only constituted

-
1. This idea was systematically developed by Durkheim for whom school is a critical setting for moral education, that is, for the training of character, or for the constitution in pupils of moral dispositions. Later developments have been realised by Waller (1932), Parsons (1959), Dreeben (1968).

but reproduced and transformed in the context of reproduction.²

As an institutionalised discourse, regulative discourse in the school underlies the production of a specific subjectivity through the production/reproduction of norms and values (through specific principles of communication) which after acquisition are expected to become the subjective generative principles of legitimate social relations and practices. The regulation of symbolic practices attempts to shape the organisation of behaviour, the production of attitudes, the vocabulary of motives, as constitutive elements of the legitimised order realised in school. This is the reason for saying that regulative discourse can be considered not only the discourse of norm/normalisation but also the discourse of moralisation which generates and regulates the system of practices of control to be realised in the context of reproduction.³

We shall argue that basic to regulative discourse is the generation of specific principles and rules regulating what counts as legitimate order within the context of reproduction. The legitimate order in the context of reproduction presupposes a specific organisational structure regulated by "rationalised institutional rules." This organisational structure is basically constituted by the category

-
2. The training of teachers is also realised in institutional contexts within which pedagogic ideologies position the teacher. See Grace, G. (1978).
 3. In Durkheim's view moralisation is realised through a system of action that predetermines conduct. In this sense, the whole of the moral order rests upon the norms, and their regularity. Moralisation is realised through normalisation (prescribed behaviour), that is, through the means of discipline (Durkheim, 1961). Normalisation constitutes in Foucault (1977) one of the means of exercise of the disciplinary power exerted on individuals.

of agents (teacher, pupils). The legitimate order regulates the specific social relations within and between the categories of teachers and pupils. Finally, the legitimate order gives rise to a context of reproduction which, as a structure, is divided into progressive educational levels of reproduction (schools, etc.).

From this perspective, regulative discourse integrates the principles for the regulation of the structure (categories and sites) and social relations (practices) of the context of reproduction through which a specific legitimate order external and internal to individuals (teachers, pupils) is expected to be maintained and reproduced. Here, we assume that the regulation of what counts as legitimate order presupposes a concept of illegitimate order, and also presupposes contradictions inherent in the maintenance of that order.⁴ Thus, to maintain order in the context of reproduction is not an easy task, especially where the regulative practices of the school are in opposition to the regulative practices of the family and community.⁵

The regulative discourse of the contemporary common school is often faced with a major dilemma. It has to neutralise the cleavages, dilemmas and contradictions which are realised in the relations between social groups (class, race, gender, region). Regulative discourse often attempts to create an image of the unity, equality and

4. Fundamentally, the concept of order does not mean that we assume the existence of an order within the context of reproduction without contradiction, for example, that all pupils/teachers/parents either acquire the principles of this order, or desire them or are committed to them.

5. See Bernstein (1977 : Ch. 1).

fairness of the pedagogic object as a mirror of the alleged unity, equality and fairness of the General Regulative Discourse of the society. In the same way as the legal subject appears to be created in the ideology of neutrality, justice and commitment, so any formal Pedagogic discourse attempts to create an ideology of neutrality, justice and commitment. In the same way as the legal subject appears to be a realisation of the justice and neutrality of legal discourse⁶ and so provides the basis for commitment to its order, so in the same way the pedagogic subject and object appear to be a realisation of the justice and neutrality of Pedagogic discourse. Thus, failure on the part of the acquirer in the school is a failure not of the school but of some negative features in the acquirer or in the acquirer's family. Paradoxically, success of an acquirer is again not so much a feature of the acquirer but a celebration of the justice, neutrality and commitment of Pedagogic discourse. Here we can see the crucial ideological practice of regulative discourse in: (1) reproducing inequalities between social groups (class, race, gender, region, religion), and (2) providing for a limited degree of social mobility of individuals. Such ideological practice has been an area of study by many sociologists of education. A general review of this analysis can be found in Apple (1982), Dale and others (1981), and Karabel and Halsey (1977).

We have earlier made a distinction within what we have called General Regulative Discourse which realises the dominant principles of dominating groups in specific societies. Further, we have referred to horizontal and vertical features of General Regulative Discourse.

6. For a discussion on the legal subject in the legal or official discourse, see Burton and Carlen (1979:Ch. 3).

Both features attempt to integrate and project an image of consensus and a practice to its commitment both within and between opposing or divergent social groups. Briefly, the horizontal feature of GRD regulates and attempts to create the solidarity of the similar, that is, they attempt to create the similarity of the different generated by the vertical division and its oppositions. The vertical feature of GRD attempts to legitimate the dominant principle of social stratification by which positions and oppositions between social groups (class, race, gender, religion, region) are maintained and reproduced. General Regulative Discourse is realised in particular forms in the Specific regulative discourse of schools through the process of its recontextualising.

In the school the macro-horizontal feature translates into an inscription of a specific national order, relation and identity which is realised not only in the practices of regulative discourse itself but, also, is realised in the specific texts of instructional discourse. The school is a crucial site not only for the maintenance, legitimation and reproduction of specific concepts of national order, relation and identity but also an important means for its re-writing. A further translation of the horizontal feature at the level of the school is in terms of concepts of justice, freedom and opportunity for the individual, here, the acquirer. Because of the confounding of ethnicity, religion or language with nationality it is difficult for the school's specific regulative discourse to give equal significance, relevance and commitment to differences between acquirers arising out of differences in ethnicity and religion (e.g. the issue of multicultural education in Britain).

Between the national (macro) and the individual (micro) lies the

family. The specific regulative discourse of the school translates into formal practices the ideological positioning of the family by General Regulative Discourse. For example, the primary school is often expected to act as a surrogate family embodying, caring and nurturing practices. Especially in the secondary school, categories of its specific instructional discourse within the Humanities (Literature, History, Civics/Social Sciences) project General Regulative Discourse and in particular focuses upon the family with respect to its public normalisation emphasising its place in the conservation of order and the consequences of its disruption. General Regulative Discourse often projects explicitly and implicitly a concept of patriarchy and as a consequence gender becomes a basis for the specialisation of functions and roles which act selectively on positions, practices, values and aspirations available to women. This is translated into the specific regulative (and instructional) discourse of the school in diverse subtle realisations of gender differences.

The vertical feature of specific regulative discourse gives rise to an explicit principle of organisation of pupils which attempts to deny the social stratification of groups external to the school. The crucial attribute of school stratification is generally age or sometimes a universal developmental feature (a stage). In this way the specific regulative discourse of the school attempts the celebration of a neutral principle of stratification based upon a biological attribute. Biological features, paradoxically, not only legitimate the neutrality of the school's stratification but also legitimate the attributes of incompetence and failure.⁷ Thus, incompetence or failure is legitimised .

7. Success or failure at school would be, from this perspective, a manifestation of constitutional and hereditary intellectual aptitudes. See Bisseret (1979:Ch. 1).

as pre-pedagogic and is also legitimised as the result of the individual biology or personality either of the acquirer or his/her family. Recently, failure has been attributed to the cultural background of the acquirer (cultural deprivation/deficit theory). Such an attribution points to invidious differences between social groups. However, the school introduces policies and practices to compensate for the incompetences which it legitimises and reproduces. Thus, failure or incompetences is, generally, the particular property of either the individual acquirer or his/her family, not the attribute of the social group. When it is attributed to the social group, then, there is the ideology of compensation or positive discrimination.⁸ The practices of the vertical feature of specific regulative discourse attempt to obscure or mask the schools' function in the cultural reproduction of the stratification of social groups. We may well find apparently within SRD an implicit principle of classification whereby different standards, relations, ordering principles are specific to different sub-groups of acquirers. Thus, it is not unusual to find different ordering principles and expectations implicit in the evaluation of the so-called less able pupils. In other words, where there is a strong classification of instructional discourse in a school, that is, where curricula are specialised to groups of acquirers, there may well be a strong classification of different modalities of SRD which allow a range of regulative strategies in the positioning of different groups of pupils within the ordering principles of the school.

If General Regulative Discourse is the means for the organisation of consensus at the societal level, then specific regulative discourse is the means of the organisation of consensus and commitment at the

8. For example, Plowden Report (1967).

level of the school. The system of stratification external to the school is rarely neutralised by the school's specific regulative discourse which, paradoxically, often becomes the source of alienation, contradiction, cleavage and dilemma, especially for, but not necessarily limited to, dominated social groups (class, race, gender, religion, region).

Regulative Practices

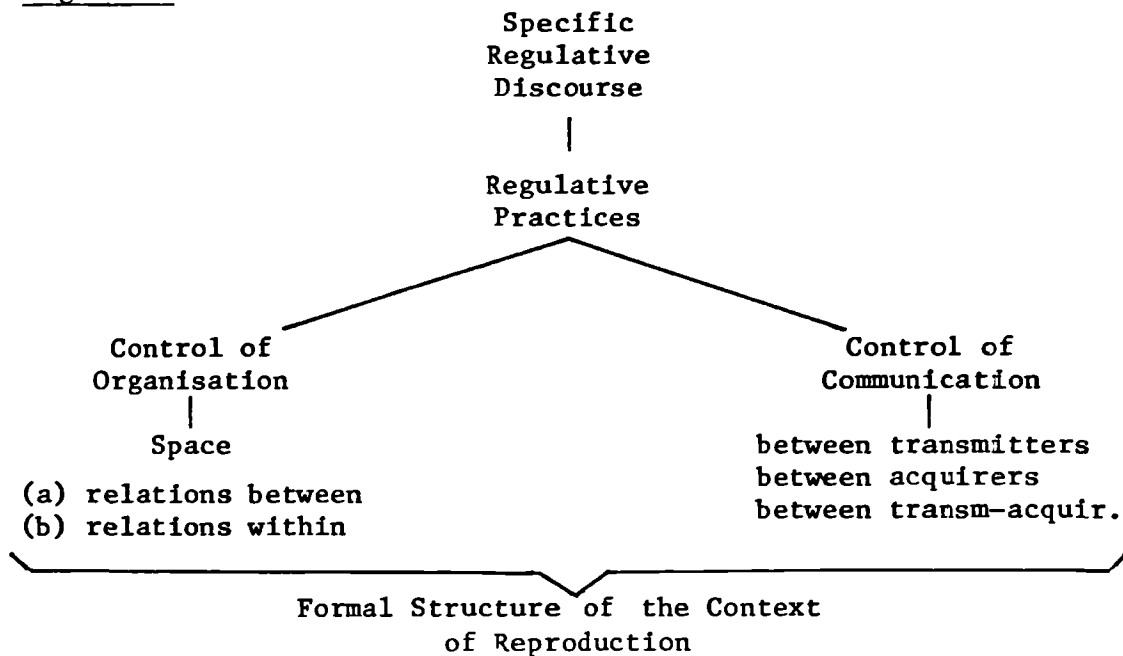
Here, we will consider the regulative practices of the school. We consider that regulative practices have as their function socialisation into values, norms, practices and motivations inherent in the organisation of time, space and discourse of the school. The legitimate order and relations inherent in the forms of control which integrate regulative norms and ritualised practices have as their aims the transformation or the development of dispositions and intellectual activity of pupils and teachers.

Forms of control can be understood as different sets of procedures inherent in regulative practices. These constitute specific regulative messages through which the acquisition of norms, values and motivation inherent in the legitimate order becomes possible. Forms of control generate communication systems which in turn attempt to produce consistent differences and similarities (perceptual, cognitive, dispositional and relational).

We consider that the regulative practices of schools are realised both temporally and spatially. The temporal realisation is through principles of communication, whereas the spatial realisation is through classificatory principles. For reasons of exposition, we shall distinguish between the regulation of communication and the regulation of

space. However, we should bear in mind that regulative practices are always realised in communication whether its realisation is temporal or spatial. The scheme below (Figure 14) presents a picture of the total set of relations we shall discuss.

Figure 14



a. Regulation of Space

One of the tasks of specific regulative discourse is the regulation and control of the sites of reproduction (schools). The sites of reproduction constitute the spatial dimension of the context of reproduction. Thus, any school can be considered as an organised system of hierarchical, progressive and articulated spaces incorporating different categories, practices and positions which are regulated by the organisational principles inherent in regulative discourse.

If we analyse the spatial relations regulated by specific regulative discourse and its regulative practices, we can find the following relations:

1. Relations between the school and other contexts (home, community, work).
2. Relations within the school.

1a. Relations between⁹

The relations between the inside and the outside of the school are always an object of institutionalised regulating norms and practices. If institutionalised rules are produced to distinguish sharply the school from other sites, these rules are realised in specific practices, procedures and policies which maintain the purity of the school setting.¹⁰ Here the closed relations incorporate formal rituals which differentiate the school from other institutions (family, community, and other schools) (Bernstein, 1977; Shipman, 1975; Dreeben, 1968). The school in this case symbolises the transference of socialisation authority (Parsons, 1959). This invests the school not only with rational-legal authority (Weber, 1964)¹¹ derived from the laws and regulations but also with a moral authority which inculcate in pupils the spirit of discipline (Durkheim, 1961).

When the relations between the inside and the outside of the school are regulated by strong framing, the local practices of the home may be

-
9. Here, we will be basically concerned with the analysis of the relations between school/home, although we recognise the existence of other kinds of relations such as school-church, school-work, etc.
 10. Dreeben (1968) has outlined the main structural characteristics between school setting and the home. See Chapter 2, op. cit.
 11. The order of the school, in this case, derives from a body of generalised rules. These rules, in Weber's sense, are universalistic and independent of the individual. These rules constitute what Waller has called "the institutional authority of the school" (Waller, 1932).

displaced and suspended. The child may be displaced from his values and identity conferred by the primary settings in which he/she participates and relocated by and in the school. Bernstein says that, in this case, the school may constitute a system of symbolic and social change of identity and a source of tension for both acquirer and the family. When the relations between the inside and the outside of the school are regulated by weak framing the school may legitimise the values, practices and communication realised in other contexts. The pupil is less displaced from his values and identity transmitted and acquired in the primary settings in which he participates (home, community, peer groups).¹²

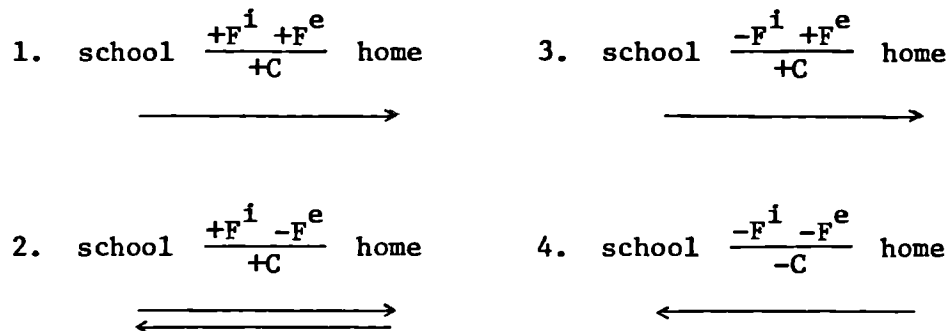
We can distinguish variations in the relations between the school and other sites, especially, the home. Essentially, we consider that school and home constitute two strongly classified sites of reproduction. What may vary is the communication between them. Here, communication refers to the circulation of values and practices from one site to another. The communication - or circulation of - values/practices between school and home can be regulated by a strong or a weak framing.¹³ The strong framing, as we have seen above, determines and regulates the purity of the values of the school in relation to the home. This can be expressed in the following way: $+F^{1e}$ which means strong framing of both internal and external values. Weak framing here basically concerns the regulation of the external values. Where there is weak framing of external values ($-F^e$), the home's communication, practices

12. However, such weak framing may be introduced in order to permit the school to pedagogise the home. See Part Two of this thesis.

13. Bernstein has distinguished between internal values of the school framing, represented by F^i , from external values of the school framing represented by F^e . (Bernstein, 1981:23, 27.)

and values are brought into the school, especially through the pupils, but also through the parents. The weak framing of the external values also creates the possibility of an orientation from school to home. In this case, the communication between school and home becomes closer, although regulated by the school with the aim of pedagogising the home.

We shall now give the grammar generating the possibilities of the options of the relations between school/family, community controlled by SRD. This grammar can be applied to all the external relations between the school and other agencies.



In these relations:

- i refers to the internal values of the framing;
- e refers to the external values of the framing;
- +C refers to strong classification with the direction of power from school to home. In the case of $-F^e$ we consider that the school pedagogises the home;
- C refers to weak classification with more equal power relations between school and home/community. In the case of $-F^e$, we consider that the home/community is affecting the pedagogising work of the school. This could also be the case of positions supporting the de-classification of the school, that is, the dis-establishment of schooling (compulsory schooling) as proposed by Illich (1971).

Where there is strong framing between school and family¹⁴ then the family has little power over the school and is less a threat to its agendas and practices. Further, school knowledge (educational discourse) is positioned as something apart, privileged and superior to everyday knowledge and this positioning legitimates a strong classification of knowledge. Such strong classification can function to exclude from the school local pedagogic practices which are considered irrelevant, inferior and disrupting (e.g. lower-class families). This has very serious implications for the educational career and sense of worth of children. Here is a very clear case of SRD affecting the acquisition of the competences regulated by SID.

Where there is a strong framing the autonomy and authority of the school is explicitly celebrated; weak framing may undermine such autonomy and create the possibility of the organisation of parents seeking to influence the school's pedagogic practices.

2a. Relations within

Within the school the regulation of space creates different locations in which agents (teachers, pupils) are distributed: the classroom, the library, the playground, the administration offices, etc. Within the school, specific regulative discourse marks specific

-
14. The exclusiveness of the school depends upon its permeability by external agents. Depending upon the autonomy of the school with respect to central and local government control, schools can regulate which external agents can have access to pupils, and with what frequency. It becomes a matter of interest when schools weaken their framing with respect to possible intervention by external agents, for example, trade unions, police, industrialists, social workers, priests, doctors. The school monitors carefully its relations with external agents, not only to preserve its autonomy but also, perhaps, to preserve the order which it is expected to legitimate.

spaces that are hierarchically, discursively and functionally different, by creating the rules of recognition and specific practice. Within each space specific social relations of communication are realised and specific positions, dispositions and orders are legitimised.

The marking of the space within the school varies according to the variations of the principles inherent in specific regulative discourse, that is, its classification and framing principles. From this perspective, the distribution of power and principles of control are realised in the regulation of space in school. If the regulation of space in school is marked by a strong classification then "there are very strong boundaries between one space and another and the control of the spaces is equally strongly classified ... there are explicit strongly marked boundaries regulating the movement and circulation of persons at different times ... the contents of different spaces are not interchangeable" (Bernstein, 1977:134). In this case, the regulation of space has as a specific purpose to produce specific locations, specific dispositions through explicit modalities of control over pupils. There are specific rules, practices and dispositions which tend to become ritualised, required by each specific space. Thus, for example, there are rules specifying location and posture in the classroom. These rules "establish presences and absences, to know where and how to locate individuals, to set up useful communications, to interrupt others, to be able at each moment to supervise the conduct of each individual (pupil)" (Foucault, 1977).¹⁵

15. See, particularly, in Foucault (1977), "The Art of Distributions" and "Hierarchical Observation".

Regulative practices with respect to space take the form of rules, implicit and explicit, and rituals which control the distribution and flow of pupils and teachers. These practices may create a strong classification of spaces or a relatively weak classification of spaces. The degree of classification regulates the degree of specialisation of the rules of circulation. We cannot give an exhaustive account of these regulative practices as these vary with every educational system, and within any educational system the practices vary between and within levels. As a consequence, we can only give a potential grammar which articulates two inter-related systems of realisation. It may be that some subsystems are irrelevant to particular schools or even to particular educational systems. In this case it becomes a matter of interest to account for presences and absences of those spaces which can become candidates for regulative practices.

Implicit in the regulation of space within the school are the following systems and relations: (A) a hierarchical system, and (B) a functional system. These can be analysed in the following way:

A. Hierarchical Systems

Hierarchical Classification of Space (strong or weak)

1. Transmitter/Acquirer

1a. Transmitters

This follows the distribution of power between categories of teachers as this is realised in spatial terms, for example, common-rooms vs. offices of senior staff.

1b. Acquirers

This follows the distribution of power between categories

of acquirers realised in spatial terms, for example, special spaces for older pupils, or the delegation of power and responsibility to selected categories of pupils, prefects, captains, etc.

1c. Transmitters-Acquirers

This follows the distribution of power between transmitters and acquirers as this is realised in spatial terms, for example, rules and rituals of entrance, exit and comportment whenever an acquirer crosses what is defined as a transmitter's space: either within a space (classroom or equivalent) or between spaces (staff, common-rooms).

2. Discourses

This follows the distribution of power between curricula as this is realised in spatial terms. Essentially, this refers to the specialisation and privileging of different curricula to particular spaces.

B. Functional System

Certain spatially related functions may become candidates for special regulative marking practices. Hierarchical classification may arise within a function and sometimes, but not always, between functions.

The functions may be:

- a. Recreational. e.g. playground, common-room;
- b. Instructional. e.g. laboratories, gym, art rooms, music rooms, vocational rooms;
- c. Biological. e.g. lavatories, washrooms, changing rooms;
- d. Reflective. e.g. library;
- e. Administrative. e.g. routine clerical offices;

- f. Ceremonial. e.g. spaces for special occasions and assembly;
- g. Circulatory. e.g. major entrances and exits together with corridors, passages, waiting rooms, stairs, lifts;
- h. Therapeutic. e.g. sanctuaries for those called deviant or disturbed;
- i. Sports. e.g. this function is within itself a complex system.

Where classification of space is strong then its ritual realisation celebrates hierarchy. All boundaries produced by the classification spark with explicit power. Socialisation into spaces is the pre-requisite of order, relation and identity. Each boundary celebrates the sequential organisation of the space and the interruption it creates in the continuity of space, symbolises the integrity of a specific order within specific boundaries, and the "uniqueness" of the social features of the demarcated space. Here, every boundary - a wall, a fence, a line, as pedagogic markers - needs to be maintained and defended, and this can lead to the very vulnerability of the order which it is both celebrating and attempting to reproduce.

In general, strong classification of space is, itself, based upon specialised fixed features, age, gender, discourse, ability, and this, in turn, gives rise to strong horizontal relations where power is invested in vertical relations.

When classification of space is weak its ritual realisations attempt (perhaps, and not very successfully) to celebrate participation rather than hierarchy. The explicit boundaries of strong classification tend to become imbedded in regulative communication which is inter-personal rather than inter-positional. Weak classification removes the possibility of challenge inhering in strong classification by reducing the sense of explicit regulation and by the apparent celebration of the autonomy of the

acquirer. The unit of strong classification in SRD is always an abstract general specialised category whereas the unit of weak classification is a particular individual/interaction.

We shall return to the issue of change in classification strength in our discussion of SRD and its principles of communication.

b. Temporal Regulation of Communication

We have stated that basic to specific regulative discourse is the generation of rules and principles regulating practices controlling the ordering rules within and between the category of transmitters and the category of acquirers. We shall distinguish the following order of social relations established by specific regulative discourse in its temporal regulation.

1. Relations between teachers. These relations can be explicated on the basis of the classification of the positional structure of the school with respect to hierarchy and function.
2. Relations between pupils. These relations can be extended to the relations between and within groups. The grouping of pupils and the regulation of their social relations are constituted on the basis of the temporal principle of classification.
3. Relations between teachers and pupils. These social relations of communication sanctioned by SRD vary according to the principles of control adopted and legitimised (framing).

It can be seen that 1. and 2. are generated by the school's classificatory principles. It follows that any change in 3., that is, in the

framing principle, must be a result of changes or variations in the classificatory principle. Such changes or variations can be imposed by those who dominate the principle of classification (the group/individual in power) or can be generated by changes or variations in the social relations of the framing relation. In the latter case changes or variations are generated by subordinated groups.

1b. Relations Teachers-Teachers

Power and control are present in the relations between teachers translated through the language and practice of SRD. It is in the definition of the positional structure of the school where the relations between teachers are located and made specific. These relations can be analysed in terms of the positions and practices assigned to teachers in relation to the modalities of selection and integration of knowledge, given by the institutionalised principles of the curriculum and given by the principle of the vertical relations between the categories of teachers.

Looked at from this perspective, the forms of social integration and communication between teachers can be considered as a function of the social integration (pedagogic integration), distribution of knowledge and of the hierarchical positions created in the school.

If the relations between teachers are organised according to "well insulated subject hierarchies" such organisation of knowledge generates an order of relations institutionalised in specific patterns of practices which make the school a very stratified context. In this case, the social relations between teachers is based on the maintenance of a hierarchy of positions and on the maintenance of a set of insulated practices by specialised agents which structures the possibilities and opportunities

of interaction between the subordinated. The control over the social roles of the teacher linked to the regulation of his/her duties rest on bureaucratic norms and upon the exercise of power legitimated by specific hierarchic positions. The positional relation between teachers institutionalises different modalities of control which include not only direct control and inspection (the official external forces, in Musgrove's terms, 1965), and also specific rules which mark the distribution, rank, and positions of teachers (degrees, certificates, honours, licenses, etc.). This reinforces a competitive and individualistic ideology which discourages reciprocal cooperation between teachers and reinforces the symbolic market in credentialism upon which it is based. We can define this explicit hierarchical modality of control as positional, and realised in a form we would expect to be highly ritualised.

When the relations between teachers are organised on the basis of a weak classification (less strong insulation between subjects, less strong allocation of positions, less rigidity in the classificatory system of teachers) the power relations and the modalities of control between teachers become more relaxed, and more imbedded in the communicative practices. Bernstein says that, in this case, the conditions of unification of teachers exist through a more common work situation (1977:104). However, it can also allow for greater control where the weakening of the classification is imposed.

Thus, we think that changes in the principles of regulative discourse determine changes in the social relations between teachers, changes in their modality of integration and changes in the forms of control. We think too, in this respect, that the more explicit and coherent the vertical and horizontal features of the school, the more explicit, rigid, mechanical and ritualised the forms of integration and modalities of

control. The weaker the classification and the more implicit the hierarchical relations between teachers the more implicit the forms of their control and the more varied the forms of their practice.

Where the school possesses an explicit vertical and horizontal modality of organisation SRD is likely to be realised through a restricted variant of communication, through the condensations of horizontal and vertical rituals and through simple rules of proscription and prescription and, ultimately, through physical violence and strong rules of exclusion and inclusion. Where schools (sometimes when under threat) move to a more implicit modality of organisation, then SRD is much more likely to be realised through elaborated variants of communication focusing upon the rationale of participation rather than upon explicit domination, upon causes rather than consequences, upon dispositions and motivation rather than positions (Bernstein, 1977). However, it is important to point out that it is difficult to make predictions about the consequences of a change in the strength of classification until we know whether the change is imposed by those who dominate the classification or generated by those who are subordinated to it. A change in the classification and framing of regulative discourse may indicate only a change in the modality of control through which an unchanged distribution of power is realised.

Specific regulative discourse in contemporary state schools may now generate its own functionally specialised discourse, with its own agents and hierarchy. We are referring here to the institutionalising and professionalising of the pastoral function. We find, in this case, specialised agents, discourses, practices, and specialised modalities of evaluation of SRD. Here, we have a paradoxical situation in which SRD generates its own SID (specific instructional discourse). This new

development of SRD may also create a new classification of space within the school (sanctuaries or pastoral/counsellor locations, or therapeutic space) with their own specialised modalities of communication, therapeutic/vocational. The new SRD creates its own sites for those who require, from the point of view of the school more intensive socialisation, re-socialisation, skilling and re-skilling.

2b. Relations Between Pupils

The criteria for establishing similarities and differences within and between pupil groups may be based upon the establishing of age, ability and gender boundaries which may well turn out to be carriers for the principles of social stratification external to the school. These boundaries can become social categories for distinguishing and separating groups not only within but between schools. The grouping of pupils is a fundamental structural unit of the school organisation and is regulated by a principle of classification which establishes varying degrees of rigidity and flexibility depending upon level and function within the context of reproduction.

If the constitution of groups is regulated by a strong classification of features such as age, gender, ability, then, as Bernstein says, "an explicit vertical and horizontal form of organisation" develops, which can be a potential to "facilitate the ritualisation of the regulative order of the school", especially, if there exist marked effective boundaries between the inside and the outside of the school.

If the constitution of the group is not regulated by a strong classification, then, the group becomes less homogeneous, the interaction between pupils less specialised and may well facilitate participatory rituals. The patterns of transmission of norms may become more

differentiated and personalised. We have in this case modes of organisation which celebrate order in a different form with practices less based on rigid vertical positions or status ascription. As Bernstein says, "the social unit for school organisation becomes both less homogeneous in terms of age and gender and more differentiated ... the ritual order celebrates, in this case, participation and co-operation" (Bernstein, 1966). However, what the ritual order attempts to celebrate and what is the actual order may be two different orders.

When the positional structure of the school is strongly classified there is a strong vertical separation of age groups which sets up, in turn, a positional relations between age groups. Each group is likely to develop its own internal specialised forms of communication, rituals, and relations to the hierarchical order of which it is product. Such a classification creates, reinforces and legitimises age group socialisation and age as a crucial transitional and transformational category within the school and, perhaps, outside. With less strongly classified positional structures, then, such marking of age and age relations are weakened. When the positional structure is strongly classified it can be expected that age group generated rituals and practices will be closely regulated so that those practices do not penetrate official pedagogic practices. However, age group generated practices may well insulate pupils from the penetration of official pedagogic practices. Where the positional structure is less strongly classified age group practices are permitted to penetrate official pedagogic practices and are even encouraged for purposes of greater control. Here the regulative discourse of pupils may become the instructional discourse of the school for purposes of their regulations,

A complex issue is raised here which we cannot develop in detail.

Acquirers may be differentially positioned in cross-cutting complementary or oppositional regulative discourses of family, school and peer group (and its positions in the popular culture). These positions themselves are inflected by class relations. Willis (1977) points out that the oppositional positions of the "lads" to the school paradoxically serves to maintain ideologies of masculinity and vocation which reproduces features of GRD. Perhaps, we have here an example of a regulative discourse realised through an oppositional restricted code (Moore, 1983). On the other hand, opposition to the school's SRD may have the purpose not only of its de-classification but of its re-classification (oppositional elaborated code). All that we can do here is to point to the crucial importance of the inter-relations between the SRD of the school and the complex positioning of the acquirers within it.

We appear to have dichotomised organisational practices into stratified/differentiated, positional/personal. It is not our intention to give the idea that schools specialise only in one or other of these modalities. It may be so in some schools; however, it is also likely that in one school just as there is a range of often strongly classified curricula specialised to different category of pupils, so it is probable that the organisational and control modalities vary with the category of pupils. We should emphasise that there will be variations between teachers with respect to the modalities of control within the permissible limitations of the modal form set by the school and variations in modalities of resistance and opposition generated by acquirers (elaborated and restricted).

Finally, we must mention sport as a specific instructional realisation of SRD which sets up its own rules of selection, transmission and evaluation which mark the relations between pupils. It is a matter

of interest to know whether sport is a compulsory or optional practice within the school and for particular categories of pupils. We, here, can only draw attention to some of the general implications of sport for the relations within and between pupils. At one level sport celebrates solidarities and crucial meanings of gender, age, school, and of nationality and its sub-groups. At another level it celebrates the possibility of fierce competition and opposition between groups but also of its regulation and therefore of the reproduction of order. It also, within the school and outside, provides an alternative achievement career for some categories of pupils (Hargreaves, J., 1982).

We have seen that the vertical and horizontal integration of the category of pupils in the school is based upon a specific unit, the teaching group which is basically a realisation of the principles of specific instructional discourse. The horizontal and vertical relations between and within the groups of pupils are a function of the classificatory principle, not only of SRD, but also of SID.

3b. Relations Teachers-Pupils (framing)

The fundamental relation of socialisation in school is that established between teachers and pupils. Here, the regulation of the social relations determine the modalities of communication through which social norms, values and commitment, constitutive of the legitimate order, are to be transmitted.

The crucial feature of SRD at the level of the classroom/teaching group is the modality of communication. There have been a number of analyses concerning communication between teachers and pupils (Delamont, 1976; Barnes, 1969; Stubbs, 1975; Walker, 1971; Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; and others).

Although many of these analyses of what we have called instructional practice and regulative practice create effective descriptions, the principles of these descriptions are not integrated in, or derived from, more abstract and general theories. We have focused here upon Bernstein grammar of social control because of its more general character which allows applications to both the conditions for a realisation of SID and SRD.¹⁶ The generative character of this grammar makes possible delicate descriptions of multiple modalities of control, used not only in the classroom but in all agencies of control. Further, there have been detailed empirical applications of this grammar both in the family (Cook-Gumperz, 1973) and in the classroom (Pedro, E.R., 1981). We shall here only for purposes of illustration use a simplification of the general dichotomous modalities to which we have previously referred.

Within the social relations between teachers and pupils SRD underlies and regulates two specific modalities of regulative practices. One modality which celebrates hierarchy in which the authority relations are made explicit, and another modality in which the hierarchy, although present, is made less explicit and more implicit. These two modalities of control present in the social relation teacher-pupil can be termed as positional and personal. They both involve specific ritualised forms. One setting a frame for inter-positional, the other setting a frame for the inter-personal. In general, strong framing is realised through a positional modality and weak framing through a more personalised one.

16. This grammar involves the interaction and the mode of integration of semiotic, semantic and linguistic levels of realisation. See Pedro, E.R. (1981) for empirical analysis.

If the social relations between transmitters and acquirers are based upon an explicit hierarchy and upon a specific status assigned to the pupils, if the area of decision concerns exclusively the teacher, if there is little reciprocity in the relation, if the focus of the control is more upon consequences rather than upon intentions, we can say that such a social relation celebrates explicit domination. The form of communication through which the rules are transmitted, in this case, is "relatively restricted". There is a close relation between rules and explicit power.

Where the social relations between transmitters and acquirers is based on weak framing hierarchy tends to weaken becoming implicit and the modality of control celebrates apparent negotiation and participation. Here the focus of control is made upon intentions rather than upon consequences (Kohn and Robin, 1956; Kohn, 1977); the legitimate order tends to be psychologised in its acquisition. The socio-linguistic rules through which the legitimate order and relations are exercised are based upon "elaborated forms". Here we have a change in the socio-linguistic rules of transmission. Weak framing is realised through a personal mode of control.

Classroom Context

We have discussed the practices and forms of realisation of SRD as a recontextualising of GRD. Our analysis has for methodological reasons separated spatial from temporal features of SRD, that is, we have separated classificatory features from framing features. It would seem from our definition that the classroom context as the context of the basic teaching unit is a context regulated by features of framing because it is the site of pedagogic reproduction and its communications,

realisations and interactions. However, it is important to point out that there are both visible and invisible features of the classification principle within this context. Visible classificatory features regulate the specific order, the specific relations and the specific identities of pupils and teachers within the class as these are marked through space and time. Visible classification regulates the flow of objects, concepts and practices into the classroom context or between that context and other contexts. Visible classification marks what may be part only of teachers' discourse, or what may be part only of pupils' discourse. Invisible classification refers to the general principle of classification of instructional discourse of which any specific classroom discourse is a realisation. In other words, any specific discourse is constituted by its classificatory relations to other discourses of which it is a member. From this point of view, socialisation into a specific classroom discourse is socialisation into the general classification of discourse. Thus, what is invisibly present in the classroom is the fundamental power relations which creates the specific order, relation and identity within the classroom. Socialisation into the invisible principles of the classification in the context of the classroom may well become the generating grammar of later social practices. Even where some pupils are unable to realise the competences required by SID, that is, pupils who do not meet the textual demands of a specific framing may still tacitly acquire the power relations of the discourse as this is realised in the classification principle. It is not unusual for these pupils to legitimate the very principles of Pedagogic discourse which has invidiously positioned them; even in their resistance.

Variations in the Code of SRD

In order to avoid some of the strictures of the theoretical

positions we have adopted (Tyler, W., 1982:54-62) it may be necessary to state coding modalities of SRD with respect to relations within the school and relations between the school and external contexts.

The basic grammar consists of

$$\frac{+C / \pm F^i e}{\pm C}$$

where $\frac{\quad}{\pm C}$ refers to imbedding and $\frac{\quad}{\pm C}$ refers to variations in the dominating principles of GRD with reference to the principles of the distribution of power; where C refers to the macro-relations within and between teachers, pupils, discourses, locations and to the micro-realizations in specific locations; where F refers to the micro-relations of communication in specific locations; where i refers to the internal values of the framing and e to the monitoring by the school of specific regulative discourses external to it, which maintains, reproduces and legitimises the classificatory relations.

Where there are variations in the modalities of transmission of specific regulative discourse in a school which would be given by variations in the values of the Cs and Fs we assume that these modalities are legitimate variations in the principles of reproduction of GRD as this is imbedded in the official discourse of education. In this situation we need to examine what modality, for what transmission, in what location and to whom. From this, we should be able to infer the link between a dominating modality for the transmission of SRD and differentiating positioning of acquirers within SRD.

Our positioning grammar enables us to generate SRDs which are repeaters of GRD at the level of the school and also to generate

modalities of resistance and opposition.¹⁷

-
17. We must first distinguish between a resistance offered by teachers and pupils which is evoked by, and receives its form from, the dominating modality of transmission. Here resistance does not have its basis in an attempt either to de-classify or re-classify SRD. There is no political intention, only a local intention to subvert the transmission which is often accomplished by inverting its rules. Oppositional forms may take two forms, one where there is a rejection, accompanied by a positive declaration/celebration of an opposing modality which despite its opposition and celebrations continues to reproduce GRD (Willis' lads). Following Moore (1983), we could refer to this as an oppositional restricted modality. Secondly, where opposition is based upon explicit principles of de- and re-classification. Again, following Moore, we could refer to this as an elaborated oppositional modality. A restricted modality is, in essence, context-dependent and so is realisation of the deep grammar of that context whereas an elaborated modality is an attempt to transform the grammar of GRD and, in this sense, is context independent.

Bibliography

Apple, M.W. (ed.) (1982) Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Barnes, D. (1969) "Language in the Secondary Classroom" in Barnes, D. et al. (eds.) (1969), Language, the Learner and the School, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books.

Bernstein, B. (1966) "Ritual in Education", Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, Series B, 251, No. 772. (In Class, Codes and Control, Vol. 3, 1977.)

Bernstein, B. (1977) Class, Codes and Control: Vol. 3. Towards a Theory of Educational Transmissions, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Bernstein, B. (1981) "Codes, Modalities and the Process of Cultural Reproduction: A Model", Anglo American Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1.

Bernstein, B., Seminars.

Bisseret, N. (1979) Education, Class, Language and Ideology, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Burton, F. and Carlen, P. (1979) Official Discourse, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Cook-Gumperz, J. (1973) Social Control and Socialization: A Study of Class Differences in the Language of Material Control, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Dale, R. et al. (1981) Schooling and the National Interest, Barcome: The Falmer Press/Open University Books.

Delamont, S. (1976) Interaction in the Classroom, London: Methuen.

Department of Education and Science (1967) Plowden Report, Children and their Primary Schools, London: HMSO.

Dreeben, R. (1968) On What is Learned in School, Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.

Durkheim, E. (1961) Moral Education, New York: The Free Press. (Originally published in French in 1925.)

- Foucault, M. (1977) Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books. (Originally published in French in 1975.)
- Grace, G. (1978) Teachers, Ideology and Control: A Study in Urban Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Hargreaves, J. (ed.) (1982) Sport, Culture and Ideology, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Illich, I.D. (1971) Deschooling Society, New York: Harper and Row.
- Karabel, J. and Halsey, A.H. (1977) Power and Ideology in Education, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kohn, M.L. and Robin, M.W. (1956) "Situational Patterning in Inter-group Relations", American Sociological Review, Vol. 21 (April), pp. 164-174.
- Kohn, M.L. (1977) Class and Conformity: A Study in Values, with a Reassessment, 1977, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Moore, R. (1983) Education and Production: A Generative Model. Ph.D. Thesis submitted to the University of London.
- Musgrave, P.W. (1965) The Sociology of Education, London: Methuen.
- Parsons, T. (1959) "The School Class as a Social System: Some of its Functions in American Society", Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 29 (Fall 1959), pp. 297-318.
- Pedro, E.R. (1981) Social Stratification and Classroom Discourse: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Classroom Practice. Department of Educational Research, Stockholm Institute of Education.
- Shipman, M.D. (1975) The Sociology of the School, London: Longman.
- Sinclair, J. McH. and Coulthard, R.M. (1975) Towards an Analysis of Discourse: The English Used by Teachers and Pupils, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stubbs, M. (1975) "Teaching and Talking: A Sociolinguistic Approach to Classroom Interaction" in Chanan, G. and Delamont, S. (eds.) (1975), Frontiers of Classroom Research, NFER.
- Tyler, W. (1982) The Sociology of the School Review, Canterbury: Printed by the Reprographic Services of the Teachers' Centre.
- Walker, R. (1971) The Social Setting of the Classroom: A Review of Observational Studies and Research, M.Phil. Thesis submitted to the University of London.

Waller, W. (1932) The Sociology of Teaching, New York: Wile and Sons Inc.

Weber, M. (1964) The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, New York: The Free Press.

Willis, P. (1977) Learning to Labour How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs, Westemead: Saxon House.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RELATIONS BETWEEN INSTRUCTIONAL AND REGULATIVE DISCOURSE*

Introduction

In the preceding chapters we have made an analytical distinction between SID and SRD. First, we have distinguished SID as a specialised discourse whose principles and rules regulate what counts as the legitimate transmission/acquisition and evaluation of specific competences. This perspective has made it possible to reflect on the specific pedagogic system of reproduction of knowledge which articulates its own rules, principles, theories and logics of transmission/acquisition/evaluation. Secondly, we have analysed SRD as the discourse regulating the social structure and social relations which constitute the legitimate order of the school, and through which the instructional practices of reproduction of specific knowledge can take place. Here, we will attempt to present the inter-relations between SID and SRD in a more specific way.

Inter-relations

The inter-relations between SID and SRD constitute the basic foundation of the process of pedagogic reproduction. These inter-relations presuppose that the regulation of the transmission/acquisition of knowledge is imbedded in the transmission/acquisition of a specific order, relation and identity. This means that the rules and principles of instructional discourse, regulating instructional practices need to be analysed by reference to the principles and rules of regulative discourse. However, we do not want to give the impression of a complete correspondence

* See Appendix One.

between the realisation of the principles and rules of SID and of SRD although it is the case that Pedagogic discourse/practice and organisation can only be understood on the basis of the whole inter-relations between SID and SRD. Thus, for example, under specific circumstances of economic and social development (advanced capitalism) regulative discourse generates its own instructional discourse in order to ensure adequate socialisation into its own order. The development of pastoral functions, pastoral curriculum,¹ counselling, are examples of this. In an important sense what we have here is a separation of functions, discourses, practices which were originally integrated in one agent, the teacher (priest). We find that the reproduction of regulative discourse through its own SID is based essentially upon principles derived from special psychological theories. We can see now a definite movement whereby a technology of behaviour derived from psychology becomes the legitimate means of transmission of both SRD and SID. Here SRD creates and regulates its own instructional practices for the establishment of order internal and external to the individual. It is important to note that the conditions of the emergence of SRD as an autonomous area of instruction are not the same for different societies.

We have said that SID regulates the positioning of the categories of pupils and teachers within specific knowledge. This means that SID is basically concerned with the regulation of knowledge to be reproduced, and with the regulation of the transmission/acquisition process. The

-
1. The pastoral curriculum becomes a means of penetrating the various "zones of life" of the individual and the means of producing social "competences". These may concern "the self", "relations with others", "living in society", "living in the physical world", "the explicit rules of the school" and "work" (see McLaughling, 1983). This is a form of increasing the power on the individual. It is a form of pastoral power as defined by Foucault.

The regulation of the knowledge to be reproduced is realised through the principle of classification. Furthermore, this regulation also entails a principle of recontextualising by which knowledge is de-located from the context of its production and relocated in the context of reproduction. The recontextualising and classificatory principles creates for knowledge a new structural and hierarchical organisation and a new logical order (sequence) which now is defined in correspondence with the order and progression of acquisition/transmission.

We find here a crucial distinction regulated by a strong classification between what can be called the "social logic of production of discourse" and the "social logic of its reproduction". By the "social logic of production of discourse" we are referring to the process by which agents, positions, discourses and practices constitute a specialised field devoted to the production and elaboration of what is called new knowledge. Generally there is a strong classification between those who produce and those who reproduce; that is, teachers in schools are specialised in the reproduction of knowledge rather than in its production. School textbooks are rarely written by those who produce knowledge. They are generally written by those who reproduce or re-contextualise the knowledge.

The "social logic of reproduction of discourse" is concerned with the regulation of the transmission/acquisition practices. Where the two logics of production and reproduction are strongly classified, a recontextualising field with its own internal positions, functions and a special discourse must develop. The principles of de-location and re-location of discourses which is the essential activity of this field depend upon the relative autonomy of this field from the State's own recontextualising policies and agencies and the degree to which teachers and communities are subordinated to, or are articulated in, the practices

of this field. Further, the classification of discourses and their set in the field of the production of discourse may bear only an approximate relation to the discourses and their set in the context of reproduction. In many ways regulative discourse is fundamentally and often invisibly imbedded in instructional discourse.

From the above perspective we will attempt to discuss the essential elements and relations within and between SID and SRD. The relations between SID and SRD are constituted as a system of differences in which similar principles regulate different practices (realisations) and their own internal and relational features.

Imbedding of GRD in GID

We have said that SID basically regulates the logic of reproduction of specific knowledge/competences. Within SID there are vertical and horizontal classificatory relations. The vertical classification regulates the stratification of discourses ("mental" is more important than "manual") and the horizontal classification regulates relations between discourses in terms of their degree of specialisation. The framing of the transmission introduces the principle of the ordering of acquisition and the positioning of the acquirer within it.

There has been a historical separation of "mental" from "manual" discourses within General Instructional Discourse (GID) creating a strong classification between intellectual and manual practices. This, in turn, has maintained and reproduced a historical strong classification between the field of production of physical resources and the field of production of discursive resources. It has also inserted within the field of production of physical resources a strong classification of intellectual and manual agents and practices. Intellectual practices

have been, in general, constituted by "academic" discourse acquired directly or indirectly from schooling.² Manual practices, as we have seen, were acquired outside of the school either in the family or within the guilds. Historically, manual practice was not part of the pedagogic practice of European educational systems. Manual practice (skills) historically was obtained directly from the family and later from medieval guilds. Historically, pedagogic practice was essentially and solely concerned with intellectual practice. Modern schools provide for vocational practices, for example, crafts and skills, but these schools often distribute such practices according to the social class and gender origins of the pupils. This raises the questions of what craft, what skill, when, to whom and how and so raises the question of their recontextualising principles. The primary context for these practices is, of course, not the intellectual field but the field of production. Manual practices of the school may bear as little a relation to the actual practices of the field of production as the intellectual practices of the school do to the actual practices of the intellectual field. Perhaps, here, we can glimpse the ideological practices of recontextualising agencies, creating an imaginary relation between the primary context of production and the secondary context of reproduction. However, the historical process of the restructuring of the economic field (field of production) demanded the recontextualising of manual practices and their relocation in the instructional paradigm in the form of vocational

-
2. SID was first constituted in the Middle Ages. Hierarchical relations were then established between specialised discourses (the seven arts), they did not all enjoy the same status; they were divided into two groups whose educational significance was very different, and which the Middle Ages always distinguished from one another with the greatest care. An analysis of this process can be found in Durkheim (1977).

discourse (and its technical realisations).³

We have noted previously how SRD has generated its own SID. Now we can see that SID has become a carrier for SRD. It is important to note how modern schools provide, in addition to vocational practices, a more diverse range of discourse/practices within General Instructional Discourse. Some of these discourses/practices have an explicit regulative function, for example, health, community service, home economics, and other implicit regulative functions (youth training schemes). Other discourses/practices imbed their regulative function in a more expressive, or even leisure, function.⁴

The different realisations of GID, academic, vocational, expressive, and practical non-vocational (handicrafts) have different degrees of relevance to production and symbolic control. Fundamentally, vocational discourse recontextualises the practices (skills) involved in material production within the field of production, academic discourse basically recontextualises different domains of knowledge (the so-called) sciences/humanities which have direct relevance either to the field of production or to the field of symbolic control; expressive discourse would be a recontextualised set of practices which can be grouped in what arbitrarily we call the "expressive field", the "expressive arts" (visual, acoustic, graphic, kinetics). By recontextualising the technical rules or the theoretical principles which characterise them, the school not only

3. Historical references to the demands for closer relations between education and industry in England can be found in Reeder (1979) and Williams (1961).

4. Modern proposals for the organisation of educational discourse have introduced an instructional area concerned with "work, leisure and lifestyle". These include the practices for developing and changing "human relations, leisure time interests and pursuits such as the ability to drive a car, plan a budget, keep records, purchase goods wisely and organise a household." This new modality of discourse/practice has been constituted around the notion of "life preparation". See Skilbeck, M. (1980).

reproduces the legitimate character of these arts but selectively attempts to reproduce the dominant cultural models of the cultural field of the society.⁵ Expressive discourse would be a recontextualising of the cultural field of the society. As the sphere of legitimacy of this cultural field becomes expanded ("through legitimate legitimation or through social competition for legitimation", Bourdieu, 1968) so does the expressive discourse of the school. However, hierarchies seem to be maintained. Compare Classical Music vs. Jazz (Vulliamy, G., 1976, "What counts as school music?"). Some realisations of expressive discourse grew initially from a regulative function. Thus, for example, dance studies had a psychological/therapeutic base in the early part of the 20th century in England in the form of dance known as "modern educational dance". However, in the 1960s and 1970s, it was the aesthetic function which was given the major legitimating role (Adshead, J., 1981).

The arbitrary category we have called practical non-vocational discourse would be a recontextualising of techniques and practices adopted in the shaping and manipulation of materials. In other words, this refers to the regulation of manual instruction in the use of tools, and processes such as modelling, drawing, woodwork, and in other hand-skills. This particular area of discourse/practice has been historically

-
5. In this respect, Bourdieu states the following: "The school is required to perpetuate and transmit the capital of consecrated cultural signs, that is, the culture handed down to it by the intellectual creators of the past, and to mould to a practice in accordance with the models of that culture a public assailed by conflicting, schismatic or heretical messages - for example, in our society, modern communication media. Further it is obliged to establish and define systematically the sphere of orthodox culture and the sphere of heretical culture. Simultaneously it defends consecrated culture against the continual challenge offered by the mere existence of new creators who can arouse in the public new demands and rebellious doubts." (Bourdieu, 1968)

excluded from "general aesthetic education" and it has been seen as an elementary introduction to vocational education and has acted as a social class selective device.

General Instructional Discourse has increased the range of its discourses and therefore of the practices it is both regulating and reproducing. It is perhaps not too much to say that few areas of social life are left unpedagogised. We can see that with the increasing complexity and scope of General Instructional Discourse, the central role of this discourse in the transmission and acquisition of the regulative order. If we have argued earlier of the penetration of SID by SRD here we have the reproduction of SRD through SID.⁶ This process of mutual imbedding shows us that these discourses do not work in isolation from each other in the process of cultural reproduction.

The Social Logic of Reproduction of SID: Its Regulative Basis

Classification

We have said that the reproduction of SID entails the principles of classification and framing. Thus, when there is strong classification each specific discourse entails its "own culture", its "own moral" and its "own identity". The strong classification between the specific discourses of the GID creates specific power relations between them. These power relations generate a hierarchical organisation of specific

6. Both horizontal and vertical features of the General Regulative Discourse are realised in specific instructional discourse where national consciousness is celebrated essentially but not exclusively in the humanities and where social stratification is legitimised.

discourses to be reproduced, and also creates specific allegiances between these discourses. Thus, for example, vocational discourses/practices, as strongly classified discourses/practices generate their own "technical culture" and their own "technical morality and also their "own identity".⁷ The strong classification between discourses to be reproduced affects the vertical and horizontal organisation of teachers and indirectly of the school. The vertical hierarchy of teachers reflects the hierarchical ranking of discourses (subjects, courses, units) and the assigned position of a teacher within a discourse. It also produces differently specialised networks of communication between those who control the administration of the discourse (heads of departments) and between those who reproduce the discourse and so realise these power relations. Thus, the horizontal relations created by the strong classification of discourse separate teachers into specific discourses and this regulates the form their interactions take. However, the heads of departments or equivalent although similarly specialised by discourse have in their case strong links based upon their discursive power. Strong links in one case, weak links in the other. The different horizontal relations assist in the reproduction of the vertical relations. Conflict tends to be confined within a department and solidarities across departments become more difficult.

When there is weak classification the clear-cut boundaries which assign to discourses their specific positions in SID become weaker. The rigid demarcation between zones of discourse becomes challenged

7. Interesting questions on this issue have been drawn by Grignon, C. (1971), in his analysis of the technical culture at the lower levels of vocational education in France.

and "this disturbance in the classification ... leads to a disturbance in the existing authority structures, existing specific educational identities and concepts of property" (Bernstein, 1977:176). In this case, the redistribution of knowledge may imply shifts or transformations in the positions and dispositions of transmitters and acquirers.⁸

Framing

The framing principle of SID concerns basically the regulation of the instructional practices of transmission/acquisition of competences necessary for the acquisition of the discourse. Here SID entails a set of rules which may be considered intrinsic to the transmission/acquisition of the knowledge. These rules, as we have seen, regulate selection, sequencing/pacing and criteria or evaluation. Variations in the social relations of transmission/acquisition have their source in the variations of the character of these rules; that is, in their degree of explicitness or implicitness. Beneath (or behind) the variations in these rules may be variations in the classificatory principle.⁹

Thus, for example, explicit sequencing rules are likely to produce a strong temporal classification of the progression of the transmission of the discourse to be acquired in the sense that the "concrete" representation of the discourse is separated from the "abstract" representation

-
8. Whether weakening of the classification of discourses produces disturbances depends upon whether the classification has been imposed from above or generated from below (Bernstein, 1977).
 9. The discursive rules may be relatively independent of the rules of hierarchy. This means that variations in the framing of the hierarchical rules (from a +F to a -F) do not necessarily affect the framing of the rules of SID (sequencing, pacing, criteria). However, variations in the framing of the whole set of rules of SID imply variations in the framing of the hierarchical rules.

of the discourse in time. That is, the surface features of the discourse are made available in the early stages of the transmission whereas the underlying grammar or general ordering principles are made available much later. If such explicit sequencing is combined with strong pacing then those children who by virtue of their class/family background fail to master the sequencing rules at the early stages of their education are likely to fail to master the sequencing rules later in their educational career and as a consequence such children will be denied access to the underlying grammar or general ordering rules of discourse. Here SID reproduces the separation of manual and mental practices within its transmission and it positions in discourse the prospective positions of the children in the field of production. Further, strong pacing requires all acquirers to do school work outside the school, in the home. Strong pacing therefore requires two sites of acquisition, one in the school and one in the home. The socio-cultural background of the family acts selectively on the possibility of the family as a second site of acquisition. The social effects of strong pacing and explicit sequencing rules become visible in overt or covert streaming, drop-outs, low level of retention and in the presence of repair discourses either within the school or in special schools for those pupils who are unable to meet the requirements of the transmission rules. Explicit sequencing rules, strong pacing and explicit criteria are generated by strong internal framing values (+) but such framing values have imbedded within them specific regulative practices.¹⁰

10. It can be shown that where the transmission is realised through weak framing values the transmission is equally imbedded in specific regulative practices but of a different modality.

We shall develop this analysis by making more explicit the regulative implications of these rules in the relation between school and family.

We can see the penetration of the SRD of the school into SID and through the latter into the family in the following diagram (Figure 15).

When the pedagogic code has the general values of +C +F then, in modern educational systems, there is likely to be strong pacing (a relatively short time for expected acquisition). The pacing rule is not intrinsic to the specialised discourses the school is required to transmit and therefore cannot be derived from their logic. Pacing implicitly or explicitly is a derivation from a theory of instruction, the selection of which is ultimately a feature of regulative discourse. Pacing always has regulative consequences in the definition of the pedagogic text to be spoken, written or made visual and evaluated. In as much as the code expects strong pacing then it creates the need for two sites of acquisition, the school and the family. What is to be learned can neither be taught nor acquired wholly within school-time. Indeed, pupils are expected to carry out homework to an increasing extent as they get older. We can see that strong pacing is expected to control the pupil in time and space outside the school and in this way it extends the pedagogic surveillance of the pupil and the specialisation of his/her practice as a pupil (pedagogic object). Strong pacing, in this way, subordinates the pupil to Pedagogic discourse and therefore to official reproductive practices whether at school or outside the school.

Where the family cannot construct minimally an official pedagogic space and, if possible, an official pedagogic practice, then it is

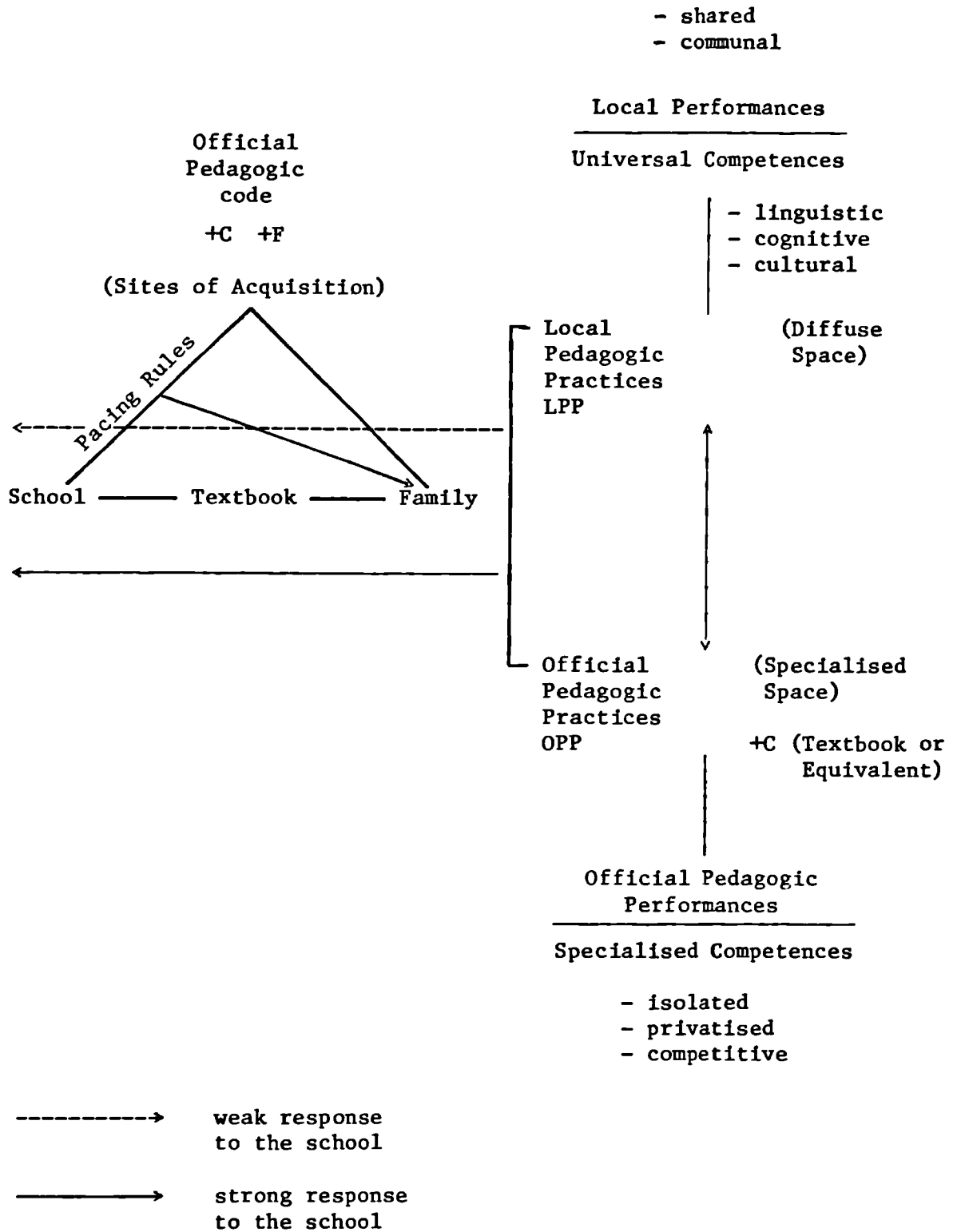


Figure 15

unlikely that the pupil will be able to acquire the sequencing rules of the dominating pedagogic code and thus will progressively fall behind. Further, there may well be an opposition between the requirements of the official pedagogic space and the features of what we call the local pedagogic space depending upon (but not limited to) the social class, regional or religious location of the family. The local pedagogic space and practice is the context where the acquirer is socialised into the local instructional/regulative practices and reproduces legitimate local performances on the basis of shared universal competences. Local pedagogic practices in the socialisation of the child is diffused and is not specialised to a specific space and time. In this sense the practice is weakly classified.

However, the official pedagogic space (OPS) is very specialised and is strongly classified where the code is $+C +F^{1e}$. Here it is likely that silence is one requisite of the space; thus, the space demands insulation from noisy spaces. It is likely to require strong $+F^e$ values; that is, there should be no communication between the OPS and the LPS (local pedagogic space). This requirement may well create tensions and conflicts when such a space has to be inserted in the family. Indeed, the insertion of this space may not be materially possible. If the OPS is a necessary condition for acquisition of the OPC (official pedagogic code) it is not always sufficient. The latter requires an official pedagogic practice to regulate communication within and between the space. Here again there may well be opposition or absences in the relation between the official pedagogic practice (OPP) and the local pedagogic practice (LPP). The dominant official pedagogic practice if it is regulated by $+C +F^{1e}$ defines the social context of acquisition as isolated, privatised and competitive, whereas local pedagogic practices may imbed acquisition in shared, communal

practices. The ^e values of official framing are strong essentially to exclude those practices which do not reproduce the ordering principles of the school.

Pedagogic codes (+C +F^{1e}) necessarily entail the family as a second crucial site of acquisition in direct relation to the strength of their pacing rules if the code is to be effectively acquired. The class assumption of pacing creates an economic transmission and a selective principle of acquisition. Acquisition may only be effective where the family is colonised by OPD. Pacing rules, an apparent feature only of instructional discourse and often justified by their objective theories, are a carrier of implicit regulative discourse both within the school and to the family. If Pedagogic discourse is an imbedded discourse $\frac{ID}{RD}$ then it is also an imbedded discourse in the family taking the form $\frac{LPD}{OPD}$ (Bernstein, 1981; 1982; Seminars).

Bibliography

- Adshead, J. (1981) The Study of Dance, London: Dance Books Ltd.
- Bernstein, B. (1977) Class Codes and Control: Vol. 3, Towards a Theory of Educational Transmissions, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bernstein, B. (1981) "Codes, Modalities and the Process of Cultural Reproduction: A Model", Anglo American Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1.
- Bernstein, B. (1982) "On the Circulation of Pedagogic Texts". Department of Educational Research, Stockholm Institute of Education.
- Bernstein, B., Seminars.
- Bourdieu, P. (1968) "Intellectual Field and Creative Project"; in Young, M.F.D. (ed.) (1981), Knowledge and Control, London: Macmillan.
- Durkheim, E. (1977) The Evolution of Educational Thought, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. (Originally published in French in 1938.)
- Grignon, C. (1971) L'Ordre des Choses: les Fonctions Sociales de l'Enseignement Technique, Paris: Minuit.
- McLaughlin, T.H. (1983) "The Pastoral Curriculum: Concept and Principles", Educational Analysis, Vol. 5, No. 1.
- Reeder, D. (1979) "A Recurring Debate: Education and Industry" in Dale, R. et al. (eds.) (1981), Schooling and the National Interest, Barcombe: The Falmer Press.
- Skilbeck, M. (1980) Core Curriculum for Australian Schools, Canberra: Curriculum Development Centre.
- Vulliamy, G. (1976) "What Counts as School Music" in Whitty, G. and Young, M. (eds.) (1976), Explorations in the Politics of School Knowledge, Nafferton: Nafferton Books.
- Williams, R. (1961) The Long Revolution, London: Chatto and Windus.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS

Our discussion has been concerned with the relations within Pedagogic discourse¹ and between Pedagogic discourse² and the social forms of its production, on the one hand, and, on the other, the categories, practices and contexts it regulates in the process of cultural reproduction. Here we will attempt a synthetic theoretical view of the relations we have made explicit in the previous chapters.

At the most abstract level Pedagogic discourse is an imbedded discourse. It imbeds SID in SRD which is itself the dominating discourse. The pedagogic device is a reproductive device which imbeds

-
1. The relations "within" concern basically the grammar of the pedagogic device (Pedagogic discourse). Here when we talk of Pedagogic discourse we talk about a grammar intrinsic to its categories (I/R). As in the "between" relations, we consider that class relations lie behind this grammar and act selectively on its modalities of realisation. From this perspective, the dominating principles (class relations) enter into, or regulate the internal organisation of the grammar of Pedagogic discourse. A question then must be raised: is the intrinsic grammar of Pedagogic discourse a neutral grammar?, or has Pedagogic discourse its own voice? or is it a fundamental means for the echoing of the dominant cultural voices?
 2. What we call here "between" relations attempt to integrate Bernstein's macro and micro levels of analysis. The macro relations refer essentially to the class system which is itself the dominant cultural category which acts upon the principle of the social division of labour of symbolic control and of production. Essentially, the macro level refers to "the origins and distribution of the dominant principles" as these are legitimated, maintained and reproduced through Pedagogic discourse. The micro relations refer to how class structuring of social relations determine principles of communication which in turn shape forms of consciousness within the frame of the dominating principles. Here, the dominating principles are imbedded in the very principles of transmisssion/acquisition (see Bernstein, 1977).

the acquisition of specific competences in rules of order. The pedagogic device is the device for cultural reproduction, or, in other words, cultural reproduction is essentially a pedagogic device.

For some purposes we can separate SID from SRD but the more we separate the two discourses the more masked becomes the realisation of SRD. On the other hand, the more we imbed them, the more difficult it is to realise the specialities of their functions. In both cases, the basic grammar of reproduction is obscured. Our solution to the problem is to define Pedagogic discourse in the following way which visually represents the relationships:

Pedagogic discourse: $\frac{\text{SID}}{\text{SRD}}$

From our point of view, we could write:

$\frac{\text{SID}}{\text{SRD}} \longrightarrow \frac{\text{signifier}}{\text{signified}}$

but this correspondence appears to be too static and fails to recreate the complexity and dynamics of the inter-relation. What we attempt to do with the above representations is to present the possibility of analysing $\frac{\text{SID}}{\text{SRD}}$ from a structural perspective; that is:

- a. To see PD as a system of interdependent terms in which the realisation of one (SID, for example) results from the simultaneous presence of the other (SRD). Thus, the regulative order of SRD is disseminated in the very grammar of SID and the grammar of SID itself is the arrangement of a signifying order (regulative order). In this respect Bernstein has remarked that "discipline means accepting a given selection, organisation, pacing and timing of knowledge" (Bernstein, 1977:98).

- b. The possibility of analysing SID and SRD as separate in the concept of Pedagogic discourse by assigning to each discourse an autonomous function, principles and rules, that is, its own grammar. From this latter perspective, one can see their variations and the function of SID in determining SRD (that is, SRD realised in the form of SID). Here it is important to remark that PD does not require an isomorphism between the values and operations of the grammar of SID and the values and operations of the grammar of SRD. In its most descriptive interpretation, this would mean that at the level of grammar realisations it is possible to find contradictions between the values of the principles and rules of SRD and SID (think of the masked pedagogies).
- c. The possibility of understanding the realisation of pedagogic modalities from the perspective of the differences or similarities in the values intrinsic to each grammar (one provided by SID and one provided by SRD) and the extrinsic regulation of their differences to fix specific modalities of realisation.

If following these possibilities we carry out an analysis of Pedagogic discourse, we can obtain pedagogic modalities (description of grammar realisations) for the positioning of subjects within a given distribution of power. An analysis from this perspective goes beyond analyses which basically function in terms of "taxonomies of pedagogies".

Every grammar realisation of PD may be seen as a positioning practice (pedagogic practice) for the transforming, positioning and re-positioning of subjects. It also produces specialised texts which capture the inter-relations of the grammar realisations (see Part Two, Chapter Twelve). Now we can see how Pedagogic discourse cannot be

localised at the level of propositions. Pedagogic discourse is not a repertoire of texts but a grammar for the generation of texts/practices. The grammar of Pedagogic discourse is a positioning grammar. (In Part Two, we shall infer this underlying grammar from official pedagogic texts.)

Pedagogic discourse is essentially a recontextualising device either for the purposes of reproduction of culture or the production of new modalities. The modalities of Pedagogic discourse can be described by the grammar of our model

$$\frac{\text{SID}}{\text{SRD}} \quad \frac{\text{C} / \text{F}^1 \text{e}}{\text{C} / \text{F}^1 \text{e}}$$

where the values of each grammar may be either consonant or able to vary within the prescribed limits.³ The grammar not only can describe the rules for the reproduction and production of discursive resources but also the rules for the production and reproduction of physical resources and the relations between these rules.

We have been essentially concerned with Official Pedagogic Discourse (OPD) regulated by the State through its various agencies. Thus, our focus has been upon Pedagogic discourse as a reproductive device of the dominant principles as these are realised in formal education. These dominant principles act selectively upon the range of discourses available to institutionalised reproduction and upon their specific

3. It is important to note that "any attribution of a value (+/-) to a function or to the modality of a function (F/F C/C) must be considered as an hypothesis entailing expected consequences available for substantive exploration" (Bernstein, Seminars).

coding principles. We have referred to the range of discourses selected by the dominant principles (DP) as GID, that is, General Instructional Discourse and to the range of legitimate ordering principles as GRD, that is, General Regulative Discourse. From this, it follows that the DP allows within its own limits for a range of legitimate variations in its principles of reproduction. At a surface level this can give rise to a variety of pedagogic practices often specialised to particular groups of acquirers. In the same way in which we talked about the imbedding of SID in SRD to give the expression

$$\frac{\text{SID}}{\text{SRD}}$$

we can formulate a macro-relation in the following expression:

$$\frac{\text{GID}}{\text{GRD}}$$

and $\frac{\text{SID}}{\text{SRD}}$ would be any one micro-institutionalised realisation.

GID expresses the whole set of recontextualised discourses which historically have circulated within the educational institutions. GRD defines the dominant order of any specific transmission and the positioning of acquirers within it. SID implies a social division of labour, that is, it presupposes a fundamental principle of classification, and, in turn, it is a means for the generation of classifications. This relation can be expressed as follows:

$$C \xrightarrow{\text{generates}} \text{SID} \xrightarrow{\text{generates}} C_s$$

SID bears some relation to the shaping of essential positions and dispositions required by the contemporary hierarchical system of economic production and symbolic control.

In turn, SRD is a micro-realisation of the GRD of a specific society. Specific regulative discourse translates (recontextualises) the vertical and horizontal social relations (social stratification and solidarity across stratification) legitimised by the GRD of the society into specific vertical and horizontal social relations in the school, through which, in turn, the vertical and horizontal relations of the society are expected to be reproduced. SRD is realised in the specific temporal (communicational) and spatial (locational) practices. These practices attempt to create a legitimate order, relation and identity between and within transmitters, acquirers and competences. In general, we have said that the SRD constitutes the major means for the organising of consensus and the legitimisation of stratification. However, SRD may equally as well set the arena for conflict.

We have said that the relations between SID and SRD expresses the imbedding of the SID in SRD. In consequence, the order of reproduction of SID is basically provided by the regulative principles of SRD; in other words, the regulative basis for the reproduction of SID rests upon SRD. As the process of cultural and economic reproduction has become more complex and specialised, as a consequence of changes in the social division of labour of economic and cultural reproduction, variations in the internal structure of SID and SRD, in their inter-relations, in their basic principles and rules of their reproduction have taken place.

The inter-relations and mutual imbedding of these two discourses is much more complex. SRD has its own instructional discourse and SID increasingly is a carrier for SRD especially for those who are at high risk for unemployment in developed societies. We have in the UK a

situation where the Department of Employment has become a Pedagogic Agency of the State producing its own recontextualising principles and SID, devoted apparently to the transmission of limited educational skills.

Indeed, we may well be seeing a division between two differently specialised discourses in the later years of schooling: an academic discourse for the few with its own regulative assumptions and a limited skill discourse overtly instructional, covertly regulative. This division at a deeper level may indicate a strong classification between the two codes, both sharing strong classification and framing, an elaborated code for academic discourse and a de-elaborated code for positioning of working-class acquirers within skills.

SID and SRD presuppose the existence of a recontextualising field in which they are ideologically positioned and transformed. The recontextualising field, we have said, de-locates and re-locates discourses into a new mode of functioning with respect to the objects, subjects and practices (social relations) they regulate. From this perspective, these recontextualised discourses become the means of recontextualising of the competence, positions and practices of the subjects, generated by the "primary contextualising process" (Bernstein, 1977).⁴

-
4. What Bernstein calls "Primary contextualising process" concerns the process of constitution of the subject. Subjects are constituted by local pedagogic practices in the family, and are already ideologically positioned in specific discourses and practices intrinsic to specific class relations. Basic to our analysis is the distinction between the constitution of the subject and the recontextualising of the subject. Roughly, the constitution of the subject refers to the ideological positioning of the subject in the order of the discourse; the recontextualising of the subject refers to the ideological positioning of the subject in the order of Pedagogic discourse/practices of the school. However, this distinction is not easily made in contemporary societies where it is difficult to scape implicitly or explicitly a pedagogising context.

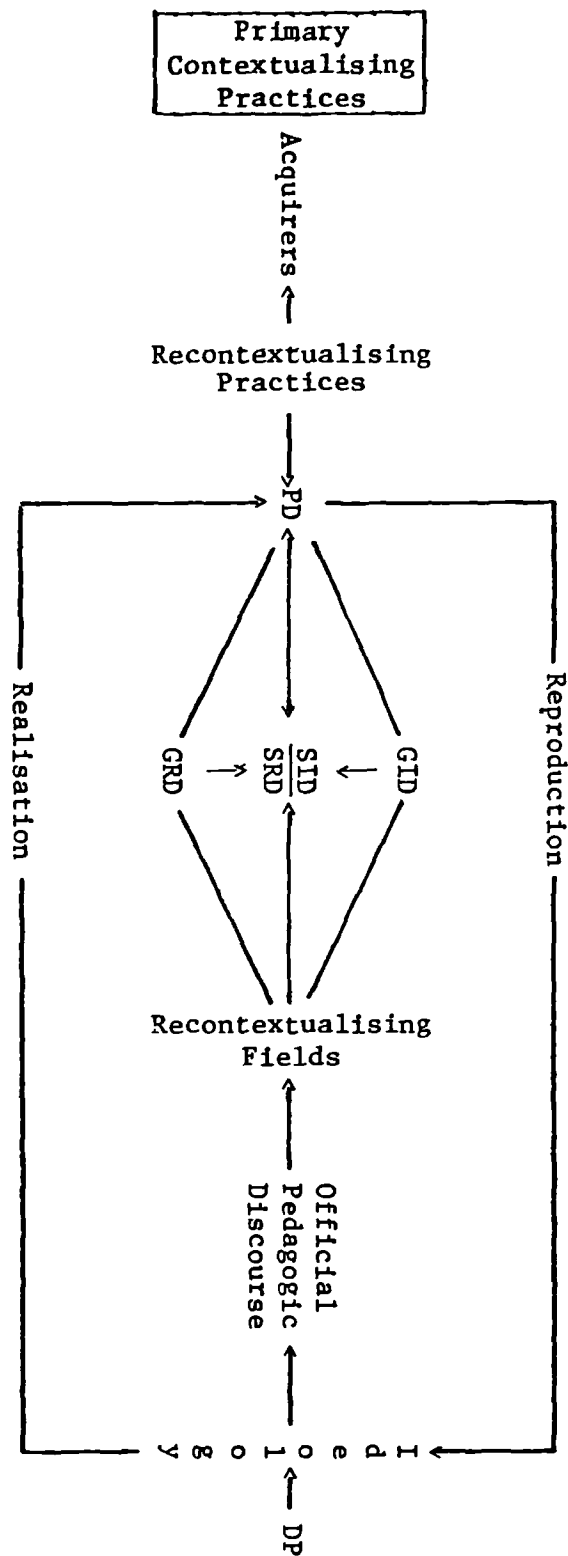


Figure 16

The above relations can be schematised as follows: (see Figure 16). The diagram illustrates the process whereby ideology is disseminated in the context of the school through the recontextualising fields constrained by Official Pedagogic Discourse $\left(\frac{GID}{GRD} \right)$. This positions the modality of $\frac{SID}{SRD}$ which in turn regulates pedagogic practices in which acquirers are positioned and recontextualised.

We consider that as a reproduction/recontextualising device, Pedagogic discourse/practice reproduces ideological positioning. The process of reproduction of such positioning is realised in the mutual imbedding of SRD and SID as this is shaped by the dominant principles. From this point of view, ideology is understood as a positioning device which establishes its modalities through Pedagogic discourse.

There are sources of change, conflict and contradiction which inhere within Pedagogic discourse and arise out of its reproduction:

1. We have distinguished tensions, contradictions and dilemmas which can arise out of the relations between Official Pedagogic Discourse and pedagogic practice. That is, between the level of official regulations and expectations and the level of the practice of teachers, pupils and various communities of interests. It is at this level of practice that the arena of positioning, oppositioning and resisting is constructed. It is here that tensions, contradictions and dilemmas which inhere in Pedagogic discourse itself interrupts its orderly regulations and expected inscriptions and provide a potential source of change or at least variations in the dominant principles of recontextualising.
2. Although Pedagogic discourse attempts to neutralise the tensions, contradictions and dilemmas within and between social groups, these

attempts are rarely completely successful and to this extent its legitimating functions of horizontal and vertical relations is undermined. Secondly, in as much as pedagogic practice fails to fulfil the legitimate expectations of an equitable distribution of pedagogic capital this may well call out demands for analysis and political accountability.

3. The weakening of the systemic relations of education with the field of production in many developed capitalist societies may well create a crisis of legitimacy for pedagogic practice for both transmitters and acquirers.

Finally, we can refer to a source of change which is inherent in the very grammar of Pedagogic discourse. Because, according to Bernstein, Official Pedagogic Discourse is always an elaborated code (Bernstein, 1981) irrespective of its forms and mode of reproduction, then, there is always an indirect relation between the orientation of its meanings and a specific material base. This attenuation of meanings from the specifically local creates the possibility of a space for new meanings and their realisation and so for alternative possibilities. From this point of view, Official Pedagogic Discourse is always a potential source of disturbance, conflicts and contradictions. As a consequence, Pedagogic discourse as a cultural device for cultural reproduction is rarely accorded autonomy but is subject to the dominating principles of dominating groups. However, because Pedagogic discourse is essentially a specialised grammar capable of a vast range of realisations it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to ensure that any Official Pedagogic Discourse can effectively control all the potential realisations of its discourse.

Bibliography

Bernstein, B. (1977) Class, Codes and Control: Vol. 3, Towards a Theory of Educational Transmissions, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Bernstein, B. (1981) "Codes, Modalities and the Process of Cultural Reproduction: A Model", Anglo American Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1.

Bernstein, B., Seminars.

Part Two

APPLICATION OF THE MODEL

In this part we will attempt to apply the theoretical model. The fundamental purpose is to explain, through the conceptual framework we have developed, the processes (economic, political and symbolic) that occur in the dynamics of the reproduction/transformation of the dominant principles underlying the social relations entailed in pedagogic reproduction in Colombia.

What we shall try to do is to translate the processes of educational reproduction in Colombia into our own conceptual language by describing the relations which exist both at the macro-level (field of production, field of symbolic control, and the State) and the micro-level (context of reproduction).

In Chapter Nine we will analyse the relations within and between the fields of production, symbolic control and the State, and their relations to education in Colombia. Here we will attempt to establish the macro-power relations regulating the formation, development and functions of education with special reference to the primary level.

In Chapters Ten and Eleven we will concentrate on a detailed description of the two major reforms of primary education in Colombia.

In Chapter Twelve we will present a substantive analysis of these reforms from the perspective of our model in order to demonstrate its fundamental principles and contradictions.

Finally, we will draw the general conclusions of the whole thesis through the examination of the relations between Bernstein and Foucault and their contribution to a theory of Pedagogic discourse.

CHAPTER NINE

FIELD OF PRODUCTION, FIELD OF SYMBOLIC CONTROL;

THE STATE AND EDUCATION IN COLOMBIA

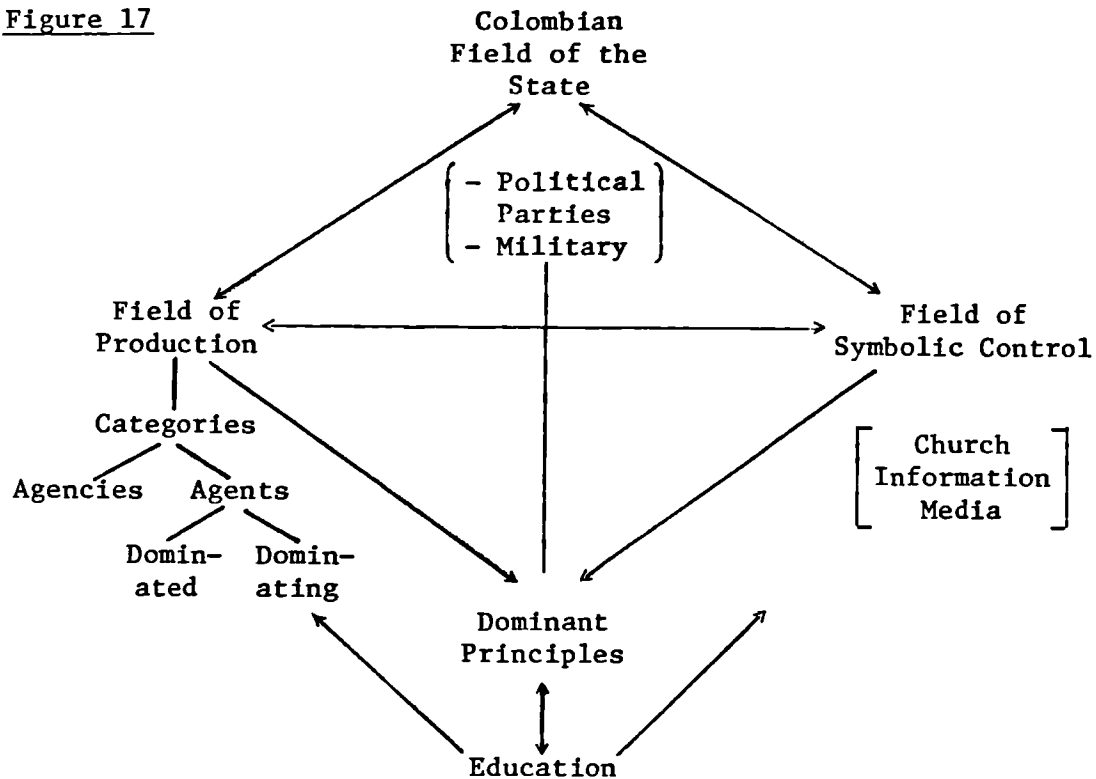
Introduction

In the course of the development of the Colombian society the field of production and the field of symbolic control¹ have evolved as two inter-related (or complementary fields) whose traditional functions have been the reproduction of the dominant class relations. Each field has been constituted by a system of agencies and a system of agents (dominating-dominated) generating different contradictory locations and positions in the historical reproduction of the class relations in Colombia. The dominating categories of the field of production have undergone different transformations regulating transformations in the dominated categories. We mean by this that there have been changes in the social composition of those who dominate the means, contexts and possibilities of the field of production, changes in the organisation of production with these changes and changes in the demographic distribution and social relations of workers. In turn, the agencies of the complementary field - symbolic control - such as the Church, the various agencies of information, and, especially, education (which, in our view, have combined to constitute the traditional dominant agencies of reproduction of the dominant consciousness) have evolved into a complex integration of symbolic control.

-
1. These fields cannot be reduced - using Bourdieu's terms - to a simple aggregate of isolated agents. They may be described as composed of forces which enter into different social relations - opposition or combination - determining through this way the struture of the fiels at a given moment in time. (Bourdieu, 1968; 1980.)

We shall attempt to present the most relevant features of the relations within and between these two fields, and between these fields and the State and education, during the 20th century in Colombia² (see Figure 17).

Figure 17



Field of Production

To begin with, we can say that the field of production in Colombia may be characterised as that field composed by a category of agencies and by a category of agents which occupy different locations and present different forms of integration in the process (practices) of production,

-
2. Two points here: (1) It is clear that we are not concerned with a detailed historical description of events but with the presentation of the most relevant features underlying the historical relations within and between the two fields; (2) The relations between the field of production and the field of symbolic control cannot be analysed outside of their relations to the State.

distribution and exchange of physical resources. In the course of the economic development in Colombia this field has undergone different internal transformations.

Among the most important transformations of the field of production in Colombia we can consider the following:

1. Changes in the structure of its economic relations (from semi-feudal to the modern forms of capitalism);
2. Changes in the forms of organisation of its dominating categories (agents);
3. Changes in the social relations between the categories (agents) of the field of production;
4. Changes in the relations between the field of production and the international context (economic dependence);³
5. Increasing strength of the relations between the field of production and the State;
6. Strengthening of the relations between the field of production and the field of symbolic control;
7. Increasing correspondence between the demands of the field of production and the needs of education (education for economic development).

In the first place, we will refer briefly to each point and then we will attempt to explore the main features underlying the transformations

3. Basically we refer here to the international determinations which have made this field relatively dependent on the international influences and demands. We also refer, at a simple descriptive level, to the relations between this field, the State and the field of symbolic control.

of the field of production.

1. Changes in the structure of the economic relations within the field of production from a semi-feudal form to the modern forms of capitalism. During the later part of the 19th century the economic structure was fundamentally based upon agriculture which was essentially dominated by semi-feudal relations,⁴ although the existence in certain regions of the country of other modes of production were more advanced.⁵ The 20th century brought to Colombia a relatively marked economic development. The insertion of the country into the foreign market - through coffee exportations -⁶ contributed to new forms of economic relations. The high coffee prices, the indemnity paid by the USA for its role in effecting the independence of Panama in 1903, the influx of large amounts of foreign capital as investments or as loans, all contributed to create the infrastructure necessary to the development of industrialisation and, so, to the development of capitalist relations of production. From the beginning of the 20th century, the development of capitalism in Colombia has become increasingly complex. Its main

-
4. Melo (1978) says that the dominant form of economic relation by the end of the 19th century was the hacienda in which peasants exploited a piece of land in exchange for monthly periods of paid work in the hacienda.
 5. Kalmanovitch quotes Alvaro Lopez Toro, who in "Colonizacion y Cambio Social en Antioquia en el siglo XIX" describes forms of property which existed as small holdings where the peasant was excluded from landownership. In other parts of the country the peasant paid rent to the landholder and was subject to exploitation. See Kalmanovitch (1977).
 6. Melo (1978) considers that the coffee expansion consolidated the orientation of the national economy towards the dependence of the international market especially that of the USA. In 1920 80% of exports were made to the USA. The country continued to be a mono-exporter (coffee based) up to the decade of the 1960s when the exports became diversified. In 1972, for example, half of the exports were not coffee. Kalmanovitch explains this diversification as the product of the relations between industrialists and landholders (Kalmanovitch, op. cit.:38).

features have been the development of a dependent economy and the maintenance of underdevelopment (Kalmanovitch, 1977).

2. Changes in the form of organisation of its dominating categories (agents). The development of the new forms of economic relation derived from the increasing development of the economic structure of the field of production, in the beginning of the 20th century, was accompanied by a slow dissolution of the preceding forms of economic relation based upon agriculture and its semi-feudal relations. We can identify at least three major sectors which grew up under the shadow of the economic benefits of increasing coffee exports. First, an industrial (entrepreneurial) sector which later would join forces with the foreign capital; second, a less technically, developed (coffee based) agricultural sector; and third, a remaining landholding sector, the base for the later development (since the 1940s) of the extensive agricultural industry.

3. Changes in the social relations between the categories (agents) of the field of production. It is clear that the process of industrialisation, slow in the 1920s and more accelerated since the 1945, brought change in the social division of labour and in the social relations of the field of production. On the one hand, we can observe new forms of organisation of capital (especially, during the last decades)⁷ which

7. Camacho (1977) sees the process of centralisation of capital in Colombia as the absorption of some industries by others and in the increasing control of some by others through buying, credit control, provision of raw materials, use of specific products. This has generated a community of interests and the formation of nuclei of capital. From the same perspective Sorpa (1976) has considered that the fundamental features of the centralisation/concentration process have been: (1) increase in oligopoly; (2) interaction of industrial capital with Bank capital; (3) new modalities of international market in the country and their influence on the national economy; (4) dependency of the industrial sector on foreign investments; (5) strengthening of external

have been marked by an increasing extension of industrialisation giving rise to centralisation around corporations. This weakened the forms of integration of the dominating agents of the field of production. On the other hand, we can observe a change in the composition of the agents of production from an unskilled to a skilled group, parallel to the appearance of new specialised categories such as professionals, technicians, administrators, etc.⁸

4. Changes in the relations between the field of production and the international context towards an increasing economic dependence. In the course of the economic development of Colombia we can observe an increasing dependence of the field of production on foreign economic intervention. The development of foreign economic enclaves in the country began in the 20th century with the introduction of the investments of the United Fruit Company. It was followed by the USA investments in Petroleum, gold mines, platinum, and by a great amount of investments and credits in all kinds of industries,⁹ in association with

7. cont'd

credit policy; and (6) integration of the economic power of the dominating categories of the field of production and the State. We consider that these features do not only refer to the centralisation/concentration of capital in Colombia but also to the dependency of the national economy on international influences and demands.

8. The training of skill labour force was formalised in the country in 1957 with the creation of SENA (National Job Training Institute). This institute is basically financed by the private industry and the State.

9. According to Lombard (1979) at least three factors can explain the development of the foreign economic intervention in Colombia: tariff restriction, technological considerations and competition.

1. The tariff restriction favoured the monopoly position of international firms over the production of certain products through the establishment of their own plants.

2. The technological considerations associated with advantages provided by the cheap labour force, the expansion of local markets and the use of new technologies

.../cont'd

national financing groups. During the period from 1950 to 1975, foreign investments, and especially US investments, soared and foreign control over the economy in different areas of production was achieved.¹⁰ In the same way, economic dependence was shaped around the financing of the national economy by the international economic agencies and their international economic and social policies (for Latin America) in the form of economic assistance (aids and loans) and in the form of programmes of technical assistance, fundamentally, directed by the USA. In the models of planning elaborated by international agencies - and by inter-American organisations - economic, educational and social development policies were considered as a necessary complement to change the slow economic and social development of the country. According to these agencies the lack of progress in Latin America was due to the lack of three central elements: capital, technology and education.

The indirect control of the field of production by foreign capital, through its association with national capital, generated the necessity for the creation of specific national economic plans. These plans created the structural conditions for the dependence of national economic policies (national organisation of production) on explicit formulations

9. cont'd

3. Competition, arising out of the need for international firms to diversify earnings on a geographical basis and to maximise the growth of their sales. Lombard notes that until 1967 there were practically no controls in Colombia over the foreign investments.

10. According to the National official statistical organisation (DANE) among the 95% of the companies studied in Colombia, foreign capital in industries by the 1970s was distributed as follows: 38.2% in the chemical industry, 20.6% metal products, 14.6% textiles, 9.1% foodstuffs, 8.5% paper, 2% in iron ores, 1.6% timber and 2% others. Moreover, foreign influence was felt through the patents, registered marks and specialised technology (Ramirez, 1982). It is clear that these figures do not include foreign credit.

of specific criteria regulated by international agencies. This, in our view, has contributed, in turn, to the undermining of the capacity of the dominating agents of the field of production to regulate their own practices.¹¹ Thus, it is in the progressive economic intervention into national economic process that the theory of development for Latin American countries has been constituted.¹² Under this theory development combines the interplay of economic and technical assistance, training of human resources (skilled trained manpower) and education for the elimination of social and occupational marginality (UN, 1968). We will see later how the demands of economic development affected the modalities of education.

5. Strengthening of the relations between the State and the field of production. In the course of economic development in Colombia, the State has become more directly involved in the regulation of certain

-
11. According to Perry (1975) international agencies pressured local capital to put order into the national economy. This was the reason for the creation of the National Planning Office. Perry states: "Historically, in our countries the development of planning has been promoted and influenced by the multinational aid agencies (the most visible case is provided by the agreement realised in Punta del Este (1961) in which economic planning was considered as the basic requirement for receiving foreign aid from IAD)." In fact, the development of the National agencies of economic planning has had a close link with the processes of international aid. Other examples can be seen in the recommendations for a policy of development as formulated by the Meeting of Ministers of Finance and Economy of Latin America in 1954, and in the "Operation Pan America" with its most important result, the Alliance for Progress (Perloff, 1969; Pan-American Union, 1967; Well known are the reports prepared by the Currie Mission (1950) and the subsequent Currie Analysis (1965a, 1965b, 1966), the ILO Report (1970) and others,
 12. This theory has been developed - fundamentally - by the CEPAL(ECLA). At a very descriptive level, the ECLA considers that the "developing countries" are developing very slowly, and that they need better conditions to put their goods in the international market, and more "help" to achieve the higher goals of "progress" and welfare. This theory has provided the basis for the realisation of different projects of economic and educational policy, and the justification for greater intervention of international capital in Colombia - together with other Latin American countries. See UN-ECLA (1969).

practices of the agents of the field of production, and has participated directly in this field through the control of some industries. Basically the intervention of the State has been concerned with the regulation of financial policies and of the financial market (Camacho, 1977), with the regulation of foreign investments, imports and exports, rates of interest and taxes,¹³ control of wages and prices, and with the regulation of the relations within and between the dominating and the dominated categories of the field of production and, through this, with the regulation of class relations.

Given the fact of political power of the dominating agents of the field of production, the interventions of the State have been limited by the power of these agents.¹⁴ It is in this sense that we can argue that the State has become the legal means of reproduction of the dominant social relations between the categories of the field of production (dominating/dominated).

-
13. In many ways, the regulations of the State have been translated into a system of economic subsidies to the dominating agents of the field of production. Examples can be found in Camacho (1977).
 14. We believe here that there is no major conflict of interests between the State and the dominating categories of the field of production. On the contrary, in Colombia the State represents the consensus between the dominating agents of the field of production together with those of the field of symbolic control. We do not want to give the impression of the non-existence of contradictions between the two fields and the State. We have said no major conflicts which does not exclude the existence of conflicts. An example (not very recent) of the role of the State with respect to the field of production can be given by the economic programme during the government of A. Lleras (1958-1962). Its main issues were: (1) to make the State an efficient instrument for the management of monetary and fiscal policy; (2) to encourage economic decentralisation; (3) to stimulate private enterprise; and (4) to decrease the costs of production and to increase productivity. This policy was translated into a set of measures affecting the list of goods available for free importation, a subsidy to minor exports and others (Agudelo, 1974).

6. Strengthening of the relations between the field of production and the agencies of the field of symbolic control.¹⁵ It is crucial to understand this inter-relation: First, the dominant agents of the field of production in Colombia, during recent decades, have become intensively concerned with the control of the means of cultural reproduction. It is possible to analyse their progressive penetration into the field of symbolic control through economic, political and ideological control of specific agencies of distribution/reproduction of discourse constituted by the information media such as radio, TV, newspapers. This control of the means of cultural reproduction has created a monopoly, shared by the State over what can/cannot be reproduced. In this way, the reproduction of consciousness necessary for the maintenance of dominant class relations has been achieved.

Secondly, the strengthening of these relations can also be seen in the traditional association between dominant agents of the field of production and the control of political parties. In more explicit terms, dominant agents of the field of production control, directly or indirectly, dominant positions within both agencies of symbolic and political control.¹⁶ Thirdly, there is increasing articulation of education with the field of production through the strengthening of the relation between the output of education and the requirements of production. Further, outside of education there is the training of specialised manpower by the national institution called

15. Methodologically, the field of production and the field of symbolic control can be distinguished by the social means they reproduce class relations. The field of production regulates the reproduction of class relations through economic power, the field of symbolic control reproduces class relations through the control of discourse.

16. See Camacho (1977:Ch. 3) and Bibliowicz (1979).

SENA - National Job Training Institute, founded in 1957. We will analyse this development later.

7. Increasing attempts to produce a correspondance between the demands of production and the extension and transformation of education. If we examine this relation we can observe the following basic transformations during the present century: (a) We observe in the first half of the 20th century a relative independence of education of production and its strong subordination to the State and to the Catholic Church;¹⁷ (b) Since the 1950s there has been increasing attempts to strengthen the correspondence relations between education and production, but subordinated to the State and to the Catholic Church. Since the fifties, the State has become more concerned with the regulation of the "adaptation of the educational system to the needs of the economy", and to "demands of development".¹⁸

This analysis of the development of the field of production allows us to draw the following conclusions:

In the first place we have the formation of strongly classified categories of agents within the field of production (dominating categories, dominated categories),¹⁹ derived, fundamentally, from the newly established forms of production.

17. The constitution of 1886 and the Concordat gave the Catholic Church considerable power over education. Thus, besides the fact that public education in all levels had to be organised and oriented "in correspondance with the dogmas and morals of the Catholic Church", the Church obtained the monopoly of private education.

18. The changes in the educational system required by the demands of the field of production were influenced by theories of development proposed to the State by international agencies. These changes attempted to strengthen the systemic relations between education and production, but, in fact, these relations have remained relatively weak.

19. We are not concerned in this thesis to analyse the system

Secondly, the process of industrialisation in Colombia has brought about a gradual specialisation of workers (more skilled personnel) creating new relations between them. This, in turn, has produced changes in the social division of labour and in its social relations.²⁰

Thirdly, we find an increasing weakening of the classification between the national economic field and the international economic field. There has been an increasing integration between these two fields. Here, integration refers to the subordination of a relatively independent field - in the beginning of the century - to international demands, and to specific ideologies and policies. The international field has become imbedded in the national economic field. This factor has brought, as a consequence, a growing dependence of the national economy on international capital.

Fourthly, the increasing weakening of the framing between the State and the field of production has created a mutual basis for greater rationalisation of the process of production and the provision of policies, regulations and different kinds of resources, of which "the developing of resources through training and education" has been one.²¹

19. cont'd

of dominating/dominated social relations within the field of production. However, we do refer to the consequences of their power relations.

20. This specialisation of the agents has been the product of the increasing complexity of the production process, from the production of goods and of means of production (intermediate goods and machinery) to the development of the automobile industry itself regulated by multinational corporations and the Andine Pact. See Kalmanovitch (1977:38).

21. It has been claimed by different authors that the training of human resources through education (and other institutions) has been more the result of preoccupation with a rationalisation of economic development, than with an urgent response to the demands

.../cont'd

Finally, the field of production has obtained control over specific agencies in the field of symbolic control. This has generated the possibility of creating strong regulation over some of these agencies and over some of the practices they may legitimately realise. Thus, the strong framing regulating agencies such as radio, television, newspapers has provided the possibility of exercising control over the culture to be reproduced, and through this, of the consciousness to be constituted. Thus, from this perspective, we do not see the Colombian field of production isolated from the reproduction of consciousness (by symbolic means) relevant to the maintenance of the dominant principles underlying class relations.

Field of Symbolic Control

Now we will attempt to provide insight into the Colombian field of symbolic control whose categories (agencies and agents) and practices have been fundamental for the reproduction of the dominant class relations in this country. The structure of the field of symbolic control in Colombia is relatively complex and diversified. It may be considered as composed of a set of relatively autonomous agencies, strongly classified, of which some derive their legitimacy and power from the legality assigned to them by the State (as the Church, for example). These agencies have traditionally been engaged in the legitimation, distribution and reproduction - by symbolic means - of the dominating principles relevant to the maintenance of the dominant class relations in this stratified society. Although we are not concerned with an exhaustive

21. cont'd

for trained labour force. Only a fundamental empirical study would show to what extent trained resources through education have corresponded to the demands of production. (See Lebot, 1972.)

analysis of the agencies constituting the field of symbolic control, we will present some general considerations of the characteristics of the most important agencies.

What characterises the agencies of symbolic control in Colombia²² is their explicit political and ideological relation to the dominant social and economic order. In this sense, these agencies legitimise, powerfully maintain and reproduce the dominant class relations (and its dominant principles) by symbolic means (principles of communication). The effectiveness of symbolic control in the process of reproduction of class relations is powerfully supported by the following features:

1. Criteria of selection of agents of symbolic control. Economic, ideological and political features have severely constrained those selected for dominant positions in agencies of symbolic control. Thus, for example, priests in Colombia have traditionally come from the upper class although now an increasing number come from the middle class. This selection has determined the top positions in the clergy which have been occupied by upper class priests, while the lower positions have been often filled by middle class priests. Corr (1972) referring to the Military says that the officers in the Military in Colombia are almost exclusively from the middle and upper sectors, which in most cases are associated with the most conservative positions in the country. It is also known that the selection of teachers for the educational system - especially at the primary and secondary levels - has traditionally been influenced by ideological and political criteria. The form of selection

22. We are not including in this analysis trade unions, cultural associations, sport and those political formations excluded from the legitimate field of politics.

of agents within the agencies of symbolic control in Colombia has created a very slow rate of change in the internal structure and social relations of the agencies and a very slow rate of change in the modalities of symbolic control.

The severe selection of agents (especially of dominating agents) must be regarded as an official attempt to establish what counts as the dominant consensus among agents of symbolic control and through them the dissemination of this consensus. Further, it attempts to establish an ideological inertia and cohesion within agencies of symbolic control which suppresses tensions and contradictions and possibilities of disruption. However, there is a crucial difference between intentions and realisations.

It is clear for us that the agencies of symbolic control are not free of internal and external contradictions. In the same way, we do not think of reproduction of the dominant principles without conflict. This position underlies our major assumptions. The agencies of symbolic control are not the realisation of the dominant principles but are the means of their reproduction. In the same way, the agencies of symbolic control are not mechanical agencies of reproduction of the dominant principles, they carry their own internal contradictions in the reproduction of these principles. These contradictions may be considered a potential source of transformation of the dominant principles. We do not hold a rigid, mechanistic and deterministic view of agencies of symbolic control in the reproduction of the dominant principles.

2. Relations between the Agencies of symbolic control and the State.

There is a close relation between the agencies of symbolic control and the State, despite the autonomy or relative autonomy of some of the agencies. For example, although the autonomy of the Catholic Church

in Colombia can be contrasted with the reduced autonomy of the various media agencies (information), the Church is one of the major supporters of the State and the State is one of the major supporters of the Church. The educational system is another example of this close relation. The educational system is dependent on the State; (dominant positions in education in Colombia are always positions in the State).

We will provide a description of the main agencies of symbolic control in Colombia, the Church, the various agencies of information, and education. We are not concerned either with a detailed history or with a thorough analysis of the structure and functioning of these main agencies. Our intention is only to provide a general scheme which permits understanding of the main structural relations of these agencies in the process of reproduction/transformation of the dominant class relations.

Church. The Church in Colombia has played a fundamental role in the conservation of the dominant social order and values. It can be considered as an official agency responsible for the "moral regulation" of the Colombian society. The influence of the Catholic Church is felt at all levels and in almost all activities of the Colombian social life. Its legal status is a clear indicator of its place in the conservation of the institutional order, and of its roles in the social and political events within the country.²³

23. Historically, official acts include rituals such as the consecration of the nation to the Sacred Heart of Jesus since 1902 and the Crowning of Our Lady of the Rosary as the Queen of Colombia since 1919. Each year on a Friday in June, the President of Colombia demonstrates his dedication by reiterating the consecration of the Republic to Christ in the Ceremony of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

Its special relation with the legal system of the State realised through the Concordat²⁴ with the Vatican has conferred upon the Catholic Church the legal and autonomous role of moral regulator of the Colombian society and of preserver of the dominant moral system (order) regulating specific forms of consciousness and specific forms of practices. This function of moral regulation and of reproduction of the dominant social order has been realised by the Church through different means²⁵ which

-
24. The Concordat could be considered as the model of the State-Church integration. Originally signed in 1886 it exists today with some modifications. The Concordat describes the Colombian Catholic Church as "an essential element of social order" and assigns to it a major role in many aspects of Colombian social life. Thus, concerning education, the Concordat stipulates that public education will be organised and directed in accordance with Catholic doctrine and morals. Religion is to be taught in public schools, the Catholic Church has the right to inspect public schools as far as religious and moral aspects are concerned and to dismiss such teachers of religion and morals who do not conform to Catholic doctrines (Jimenez Cadena, 1967). As in other sectors, the actual role of the Catholic Church in the Colombian education is not only limited to such forms of control. Representatives of the Church are almost always to be found in the official and semi-official organs of educational decision-making. Moreover, education has become one of the main activities for which the Catholic Church in Colombia has mobilised its own internal resources (religious orders, congregations, financing). Although the Concordat was slightly modified in 1942 and renegotiated in 1973 only a few changes were made (possibility of civil divorce, and the elimination of public apostasy as a pre-requisite for the civil marriage of baptised Catholics). To some extent, in some instances the power of the Church increased. For example, its missionary role was extended "with provision made for the development of a special canonical regime" for the 'Mission territories' (approximately 60% of the Colombia area) and 'marginal zones' (large urban slum areas). See Lebot (1972); Levine (1981); Corr (1972).
25. The control the Church exerts over the flow of acts and ideas in the Colombian society is also derived from its great social presence throughout the country through its diocesis, parishes, and schools, which according to Levine (1981), make for extensive points of contact with the people. Levine considers that since the 1940s the Church hierarchy sponsored the creation of an extensive network of Catholic action groups, trade unions (young Catholic workers, selection of Catholic workers, UTC), adult education programmes (ACPO, Popular Cultural Action, dedicated to the rural adult education through the use of radio), and community organisation projects. Popular Cultural Action possesses the largest chain of radio transmitters in the country. ACPO's action is supported by a network of schools, and by a newspaper, the third largest newspaper in

.../cont'd

have slowly evolved in recent years. These means have produced some variations in the forms of social relation away from closed positional forms towards more open forms in an attempt to deal with the socio-economic conflicts of the country which have brought out, to some extent, conflicts between its agents of control. We should make clear that these new forms of social relations have not abolished positional forms of control.²⁶

From this perspective, we can say that the Colombian Church is an autonomous and complex hierarchical structure, with rigid patterns of authority and group relation through which the dominant social order is legitimised. In terms of our model the organisational principle is of the forms +C +F¹e. Although the Church is autonomous with respect to the State it intervenes in the making of policy where its own interests are involved.²⁷ The State permits a relationship of weak

25. cont'd

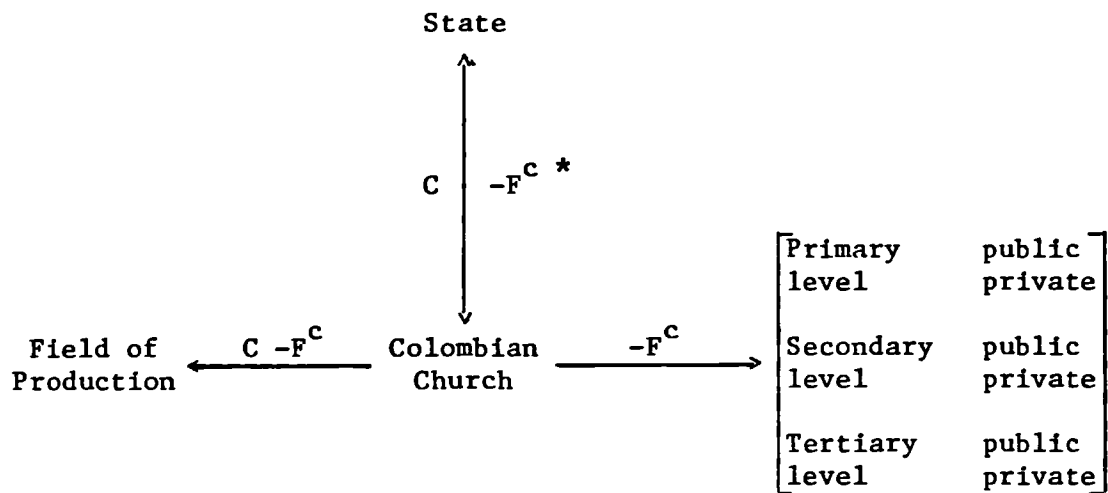
the country (El Campesino, the peasant), (see Musto, 1971). Another means of inculcation of the dominant regulative order has been the traditional religious instruction in the form of an academic subject in all the schools (private and public).

26. We give a very brief example. The emergence of new forms of catechisms in the late sixties and in the early seventies attempted to build more relevant programmes of religious education in Colombia. Initiatives such as "Liberation" (for the secondary school) and "Denuncia" (denunciation) created great opposition and reaction from the conservative sectors of the Church and of the conservative party. The process of change of the Colombian Church has been basically realised within the maintenance of its authority patterns and through its bureaucratic forms. The style of action has been fundamentally institutional with "emphasis on moral and social problems" within a context of revivifying traditional values and practices (Levine, 1981).

27. An illustration of the close relation between the State and the Church can be given by the attitude towards the Church by the initiators of the National Front period. The constitutional amendments that were introduced in 1957 began with the solemn acknowledgement that "the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion is that of the nation and that as such the public powers will protect it and will see that it is respected as an essential element of social order" (Dix, 1967:314).

framing with respect to its relations to the Church because of the close ideological and political association between the conservative party and the Church. There is also a weak framing relation between the Church and the field of production as the Church has many financial interests in this field.

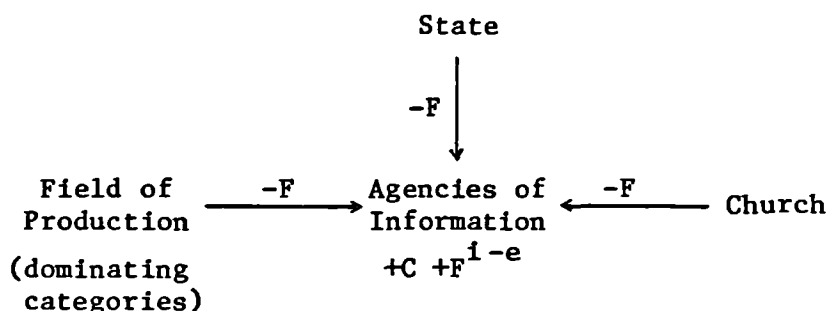
The structural relations, as described above can be schematised as follows:



* The small c in $[-F^c]$ indicates that the Church dominates the communication in its own interest. Although in general there is $[-F^c]$ relation to education the F value is less weak at public secondary and tertiary levels.

Agencies of information. The distribution and reproduction of dominant "principles, practices, activities and symbolic forms" in Colombia are also regulated by the agencies of information (specialised mass media). These agencies realise the reproduction of the dominant principles through informal forms. The increasing integration in Colombia of the different fractions of the ruling class has brought increasing control - under different forms - not only of the means and forms of production but also of the means and forms of public

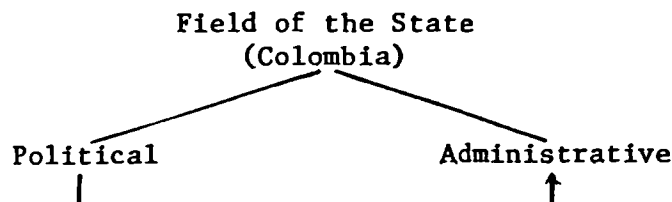
media.²⁸ This means that the economic control of these means of reproduction (agencies of information) confers upon the ruling class in Colombia the power to select - together with the State - what can/cannot be reproduced, and the power to exert ideological and political control upon the agents of information. From this perspective, the relations that Colombian agencies of information are expected to maintain with other agencies of symbolic control (Church), with the State (through its respective agencies) and with the field of production (in economic terms) confer on these agencies a low relative autonomy with respect to their practices. Information, for example, must be organised according to the views of the dominating agencies that define legitimacy and legality. Thus, we consider that there exist explicit modalities of control over these agencies of symbolic control. The dominating principle regulating these agencies can be expressed by a [+C] and a [+F]; their main relations can be expressed as follows:



-
28. In the view of the DANE (National Administrative Department of Statistics) (1971) the mass media broadcast systems of values, forms of thought and opinions concerned with the different social problems of the different classes composing society. In Colombia, parallel to the development of the other sectors (industrial, agricultural, educational) there has been a rapid development of the mass media and especially of the TV. The radio covers the whole country (7.4 persons per radio). The proportion of the radio, television, newspapers, and cinema events compared with other forms of expression such as literary and artistic events is considerably large.

Finally, we will examine the main characteristics of the Colombian State considered as a field whose categories (agents, agencies, discourses) and practices (regulations and forms of force) have been the fundamental means for the maintenance of the dominant principles of Colombian society. Here we will distinguish three aspects of the Colombian State in our description: (a) its structure; (b) its relations: and (c) its practices. It is important to note that our considerations of the State will provide neither specific details nor specific explanations of the causal historical relations which would be required to understand the whole field of the State in the Colombian society. Our considerations only provide an approach to the understanding of the basic relations presented in our model.

(a) Structure. The constitution of 1886 established the unity of the State within a differentiation of powers: (1) executive; (2) legislature; and (3) Judiciary. All these branches are instruments for the expression of power relations between the dominating and dominated groups of Colombian society.²⁹ Each one of these branches has developed a complex set of political and administrative agencies through which maintenance of the dominant order is exercised. We could talk, in this respect, of the existence of two sub-fields in the Colombian State: a political field (together with its dominating categories and practices) and an administrative field (together with its categories and practices).



29. They are also an expression of the power relations between the dominating groups of the Colombian society.

The political field is the expression of the power relations between the dominant political parties, which in turn are the political realisation of the dominant economic groups which constitute the ruling class in Colombia.³⁰ The administrative field is constituted by the whole set of agencies whose responsibility is to realise the politics of the State, defined in correspondence with the orientations given by the political field.

We do not want to give the impression that the administrative field is excluded from the political scene in Colombia. First, because the administration depends on political decision, policies and ideologies; secondly, because in Colombia political parity demands that the bureaucracy must be divided between the followers of the two parties. A different way of explaining the same issue is to say that administrative positions are fundamentally political enclaves in Colombia.

b. Relations. It is our belief that the Colombian State does not constitute an autonomous field. It is related in many ways to the field of production and to the field of symbolic control. On the one hand, the Colombian State can be considered, in many ways, present in the reproduction of the social relations of the field of production. Its intervention, especially during the 20th century, has been concerned

30. Since the 19th century, the political parties in Colombia have been associated with the dominant economic sectors. Thus, the landholders, clergy and the traditional families were grouped around the conservative party, and the business men and artisans were grouped around the liberal party. We accept the argument that the traditional parties in Colombia (conservative and liberal) are multiclass in their composition, but here we are concerned with the dominating agents within these parties. From this perspective, we consider that the composition of the dominating agents of the political parties maintain a relation of dependence on the dominating agents of the field of production. See Melo, op. cit.; Safford (1976); Jaramillo Uribe (1964); Corr, op. cit.

with the provision of the general legal conditions for the increasing of economic development of the dominant categories of the field of production in correspondence with their continuous demands (providing infrastructure of the industrial development - communication systems, electric power, etc.),³¹ with the help of the international loans and of the international capital, and especially with the regulation of conflict between the dominating and dominated agents in the field of production. It is important to note that the interventions of the State in the field of production are, to some extent, derived from the explicit demands the dominating agents of the field of production exert on the State³² which is economically relatively weak). From this perspective, we can consider that although the Colombian State (as other states) can be described as autonomous of the field of production it is fundamentally determined by the processes occurring in the field of production.³³ Using the principles of classification and framing we can define the relations between the Colombian State and the field of production as regulated by a strong classification +C and relatively weak framing -F, which permits mutual and reciprocal influence and consensus.

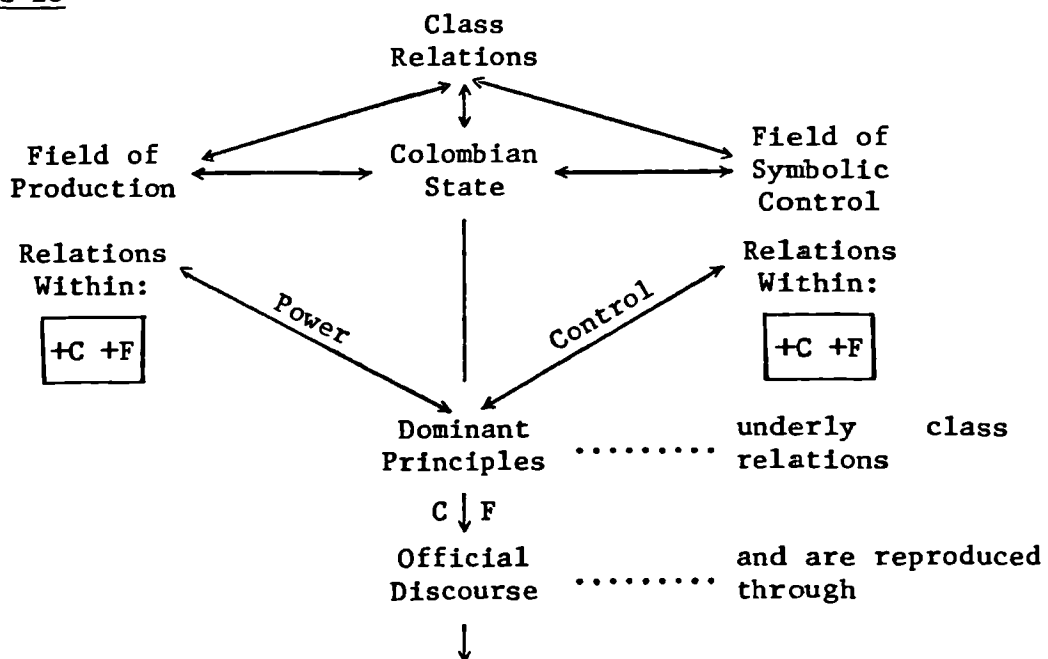
-
31. Examples of how the State is present in the expansion and indirect reproduction of the field of production can be seen in the different plans of development of the economic sector contained in the "Plan General de Desarrollo Económico y Social" (1962), "Las Cuatro Estrategias" (1972), "Para Cerrar la Brecha" (1975). "Plan de Integración Nacional" (1979-1982).
 32. These dominant agents play an extremely influential role in the political system of the State. This is the case of associations such as the "National Federation of Merchants" (FENALCO) and the "National Association of Manufacturers" (ANDI) which are the strongest and most powerful economic agencies in the country. (See Corr, 1972.)
 33. The necessity for expanding the economy and the necessity for creating economic and social development has made this relation closer.

The Colombian State is crucial to the control and reproduction of the forms of consciousness relevant to the maintenance of its dominant principles, either by means of law or by means of the agencies of symbolic control (including education).

c. Practices. The fundamental function of the Colombian State has traditionally been the legitimation and reproduction of class relations through the legitimation and reproduction of their dominant principles.³⁴

It is important to note that these principles have been legitimised by the State through legal practices, and reproduced by institutional means (at both collective and individual level) by the agencies of symbolic control. The following scheme (Figure 18) helps to understand our description:

Figure 18



34. It is clear that the legitimation, conservation and reproduction of the dominant principles can be realised by the use of force. However, this is not our major concern here.

When talking about the "dominant principles" of the State in Colombia we are not referring to a specific entity. Even if they have a material substratum they are abstracted from the different social contexts, or more specifically, from the domain of social relations. Thus, the dominant principles must be seen as the underlying principles of class relations, whose legitimation and conservation is fundamental for the reproduction of these class relations. The reproduction of the dominant principles must be seen in the relationships between the State, the field of production and the field of symbolic control, in which they are imbedded.

We consider that the dominant principles are not realised by, but are reproduced through Official discourse and the whole set of its texts. According to our model, our study concerns the reproduction of the dominant principles fundamentally through the means of education, that is, by means of Pedagogic discourse. In the next section we will explore the main relations internal and external to education; the most important agency concerned with the reproduction of these dominant principles.

The Colombian Educational System as an Agency of Symbolic Control

Now we will consider the Colombian educational system as an agency of symbolic control. As such, its most important function has been the control and reproduction of the dominant forms of consciousness relevant to the maintenance of class relations. Here, we shall briefly examine the educational system from two perspectives: first, in its structure and main developments, and, secondly, its relations to the State, the Church and to the field of production.

1. Structure and developments³⁵

In our view, the Colombian educational system is basically an agency of selective reproduction of knowledge, of reproduction of the legitimate order and of reproduction of inequalities. It comprises what has been called "formal and non-formal education". It has been established by decree (088/1976) that formal education is that which is transmitted "within a regular sequence of annual periods, with an established progression of graded contents from one period to another (grades and levels). Traditionally, the Colombian educational system has been organised into three levels, strongly classified: primary, secondary and tertiary levels.³⁶ This strong classification includes a strong classification between public and private and between rural and urban schools. The strong between classifications have determined a strong classification between objectives, contents and methods, both at the level of Pedagogic discourse and at the level of the social composition of pupils.

At the same time, the structure within levels has, at the secondary level, been regulated by a strong classification between forms of education. This has produced a very stratified structure with explicit vertical and horizontal forms of organisation, reducing the possibilities of transfer from one form to another, and reducing the possibilities of access to levels.³⁷

-
35. In the analysis of this development we will be referring to the primary and secondary levels.
36. Decree 088/76 restructured the educational system between and within levels and attempted to relax the strong classification between levels.
37. In the same way the strong classification between rural and urban schools has legitimated social inequalities and perpetuated rural illiteracy; while the strong classification between public and private has produced organisational and social differences between these two sub-systems.

From the beginning of the 20th century the Educational system in Colombia was designed within specific patterns to provide two main discriminations. Law 39/1903 stressed the Catholic character of education, legitimised the class structure by defining education as "free and non-compulsory" and discriminated between rural schools (with a three-year curriculum) and urban schools (with a six-year curriculum). The division between public and private schools was legitimised and the Church became the most important agency for the expansion of private education. At the same time, the law attempted to promote a more practical orientation of the curricula.

Law 39 was relatively unchanged during the first half of the century and its major tendencies, together with its modifications emphasised two points: extension of education and insistence on practical education (Benoit, 1974). The fundamental aim of the legal extension of education during the first half of the century was to spread basic skills among the lower strata of the population, to socialise them into the regulative order, and to promote "Normal" schools for the training of teachers to meet the expansion of primary education. However, this policy of the expansion of education, although an object of official commitment was not realised in practice owing to the lack of schools, the lack of teachers (especially of trained teachers) and the lack of educational opportunities (the result of the strongly stratified social system). As a consequence there was only a very small increase in literacy.³⁸ The following figures show the slow evolution of primary and secondary education during the first half of the century (the figures do not include private education; see Table 1).

38. There existed in 1933, 3,271,310 illiterates which represented the 42.5% of the population of the 1933 Census.

Table 1 Number of Pupils, Teacher and Schools Between 1935 and 1951

Year	Primary			Secondary		
	Pupils	Teachers	Schools	Pupils	Teachers	Schools
1935	556.379	10.287	8.403	45.670	4.221	853
1938	627.730	11.467	9.145	60.251	5.640	733
1940	605.966	11.310	9.175	64.919	6.197	888
1945	678.386	14.054	12.147	67.877	6.162	1.312
1950	808.494	17.448	12.177	70.916	7.621	721
1951	874.976	19.106	12.548	103.333	11.801	1.008

Source: National Department of Statistics, DANE (1972).

The structural characteristics of the educational system together with its culture and practices were the main instruments for ensuring the reproduction of class relations. These characteristics include:

1. a primary level of three types (one urban and two rural);³⁹

39. The following figures show the enormous imbalance between the urban and rural school. Of the rural schools only 73 offered complete primary education in 1957.

Distribution of Primary Schools in 1940, 1945 and 1957

Number of Grades Offered	1940		1945		1957	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
1	742	243	621	363	187	734
2	622	3.424	912	5.321	506	8.319
2	676	1.748	709	1.100	680	1.458
4	767	308	828	149	898	449
5	-	-	-	-	1.267	73
total	2.807	5.723	3.070	6.933	3.538	11.033

Source: National Department of Statistics, DANE (1972).

2. a reduced secondary level with a strong classification between curricula (academic of high status vs. others of low status);
3. predominantly private schools located in the principal urban centres, providing the basis for the university admission; and,
4. a tertiary level (university) almost exclusively for the upper classes. The following figures (Table 2) provide some evidence of the traditional stratification created by the educational system in Colombia:

Table 2 Number of Students in Primary, Secondary and University between 1938-1958

Year	Primary	Secondary	University	Total
1938	627.730	60.251	3.050	691.031
1943	679.273	75.474	5.113	759.800
1948	765.482	78.200	8.252	851.934
1953	1.054.696	108.755	11.629	1.175.080
1958	1.489.674	192.152	19.011	1.700.837

Source: National Department of Statistics, DANE (1972).

The pedagogic culture reproduced by the primary and secondary level during the first half of the century was encyclopedic,⁴⁰

40. Misas quoted by Casallas (1956) gives an example of the encyclopedic character of the bachillerato. From 1904, the plan of studies distributed 24 subjects along six years; in 1910, 28 subjects; in 1919, 31 subjects; in 1933, 34 subjects; in 1935, 35 subjects. From 1936 the growing of the number of subjects was incredible, 86 subjects; in 1937, 59 subjects, and ... in 1952, 47 subjects.

overloaded with an inordinate range of subjects and with a strong emphasis on the rote-learning of discrete subjects. Primary education emphasised civic and moral education, in addition to other subjects (reading, writing, arithmetic). The pupil's consciousness was essentially trained in discrete subjects - through books and lessons - which emphasised established authority rather than intellectual curiosity.⁴¹ On the other hand, the structure of secondary education was characterised by a marked division between different types of schools with no transfer from one type of secondary school to another. This strong classification within the secondary education made the bachillerato (academic) more prestigious than other types of education (vocational, industrial, agricultural) whose curricula were designed to prepare students for practical work. The status and prestige of the academic bachillerato together with the possibility of access to the university motivated the demand for this type of secondary education. Because secondary education was almost wholly private and so accessible only to middle and upper classes the bachillerato was an institutional means of selection and of stratification (later figures will show the difference between the academic bachillerato and the other forms of secondary education).

This situation continued to the fifties when new factors determined new changes in the educational system. These factors may be described as follows: (a) increasing educational demands linked to the process

41. This contrasts with the reforms introduced in Pedagogic discourse by a more sophisticated Decrolierian pedagogy, which oriented the programmes of teaching prepared in 1935 for primary and secondary education. See Casallas, op. cit.; Memoria del Ministro de Educacion al Congreso de 1935; and MEN (1935).

of urbanisation and demographic growth, (b) the demands of international organisations (educational and financial agencies), (c) the modernisation of Pedagogic Agencies of the State which changed the social composition of their agents because of the new emphasis on technology.

Since the fifties, the educational system has undergone both quantitative and structural transformations. The major result of these transformations has been a relative expansion of the primary level. There were also a number of reforms of the secondary level among which the most important have been:

1. The 1962 reform which reorganised secondary education, and established two cycles: a common cycle for some types of secondary education of four years and a second cycle of two years;⁴²
2. The creation of the National Institutes of Middle Education (INEMs) in 1969 introduced, basically, to train the labour force of the lower strata of the population; and,
3. The reform of 1976 which restructured the whole Colombian Educational System.

The extension of secondary education also became an official goal of educational policy of the State.⁴³

42. Not all types of education were within the scope of the reform of 1962.

43. Other reforms introduced were: Creation of the ITAs (Agricultural Technical Institutes) (1966) to form bachilleres in agricultural sciences; extension of the forms of secondary education in 1970; experimentation with a new plan of diversified secondary school in 1971. See MEN (1982).

A brief review of secondary education reforms from the fifties shows increasing orientation towards diversification as an instrument for training the labour force as well as for preparing students for the University. Behind these reforms there has been an attempt to strengthen the relations between education and production. Paradoxically, however, official statistics still show the predominance of the "bachillerato classico" (traditional secondary school). In 1968, for example, over two-thirds of all secondary students were enrolled in bachillerato programmes.⁴⁴ This predominance still remained in the 1970s, as can be seen in the following figures (Table 3):

Table 3 Percentage of Pupils in Different
Types of Secondary Education
Between 1975-1977

Type of Education	1975	1976	1977
Academic	75.2	74.3	73.5
Pedagogic	6.1	5.6	5.0
Industrial	3.6	4.0	4.2
Commercial	9.8	10.2	10.8
Agricultural	1.7	2.0	2.5
Social Service	0.4	0.5	0.6
INEM	3.2	3.4	3.4
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: MEN, 1980.

44. See Ministerio de Educacion Nacional (1970), "La educacion en Colombia 1960-1968, anexo estadístico".

2. Education and the field of production

We will examine now the role of the Colombian educational system as a means of reproduction of the agents and practices relevant to the field of production. In other words, we will examine the extent to which the educational system has been a factor in the supply of skills for the field of production. Our expectation here is that the Colombian educational system has not been a dominant factor in the supply of skills to the labour force. We will examine this expectation, both with respect to the demands of the field of production and with respect to the internal structure of the educational system.

Since the 19th century, we can observe the emphasis on the need for "practical education". In the view of politicians "practical education was a means of economic development" (Benoit, 1974). The State created regulations concerning practical education⁴⁵ which existed, however, only at the level of policy because of the inadequate development of the field of production.⁴⁶ In the light of Safford's (1965) study of enterprise and economic development in the 19th century in Colombia, the limited and differentiated commitment to education becomes understandable for one reason: the expansion of the industrial sector was very limited and its division of labour was not complex. Therefore, there was little demand for vocational education. Safford adds that

45. The issue of practical education was raised in the Plans of Santander (1826) and the Mariano Ospina (1840). References to these plans can be found in Casallas, op. cit.; Fals Borda (1965); Safford, op. cit.; Jaramillo, U. (1964).

46. We have here an interesting situation. The State attempted to initiate changes in education in advance of the requirements of the field of production.

the kind of technical knowledge the Colombian entrepreneur sometimes required was a very specialised and specific know-how, which could not be offered by the educational system. This knowledge was imported in the form of foreign technicians together with foreign machinery.

From the beginning of the 20th century the State attempted to create closer relations between education and production by passing a set of laws and decrees concerning education. Thus, Law 39/1903 and Decree 491/1904 promoted a practical orientation to primary education, gave priority to "scientific education" in the public bachillerato schools and to the organisation and regulation of the technical schools.⁴⁷ However, practical education, as Benoit points out, consisted mainly of low-level "artisanal" education and was not meant to produce anything like a technical cadre. Moreover, despite continuous official re-iterations through decrees and laws, the development of technical education was very slow. Thus, for example, vocational agricultural education was initiated only in 1941 with the creation of vocational agricultural schools despite the promulgation of different laws repeating the necessity for expanding this kind of education (e.g. Law 39/1903; Law 38/1914; Law 75/1926; Law 132/1937). Industrial education was promulgated by Law 39/1903, Law 31/1917, Law 14/1929, Law 22/1930 and by a set of decrees which ended with a clearer specification of this type of education in 1948 with the Law 143. However, the following figures (Table 4) illustrate the differences between the official promulgations and their practical realisations.

47. The preoccupation of the ruling groups with the creation of national industry is made explicit in the recommendations of the Ministry of Education: "to increase industrial instruction, to create in the main population centres schools of manual arts for the formation of skilful artisan and for developing manufacturing industry. Antonio Jose Uribe, quoted by Casallas, op. cit. Also see Uribe (1927).

Table 4 Distribution of Pupils and Schools Over Different Types
of Education Between 1938 and 1955

Secondary Education - Official Sector				
	1938	1945	1951	1955
<u>Agricultural</u>				
schools	x	19	14	27
pupils	985	697	396	1.516
<u>Industrial</u>				
schools	x	38	42	57
pupils	4.128	3.855	4.911	6.145
<u>Bachillerato</u>				
schools	x	154	157	170
pupils	x	17.871	28.181	29.480

Source: Lebot, I., 1972:134.

Here we observe a great difference in the distribution of the categories produced by the educational system. The number of pupils who were supposed to have a formation with relevance to the field of production is very low in comparison with the output of academic pupils.

During the second half of the century the State under the pressures of international influences realised in terms of foreign aid (economic and educational) has become more concerned with the articulation of social and economic demands and education. We can observe this concern in the policy of increasing expansion of primary education, in the reforms of the structure of secondary education, briefly described above, in the reforms of post-secondary education, and more recently in the reform of the structure of the educational system (1976). In all these reforms education is viewed as a means of economic and social

development, or, more specifically, as a means of closing the gap between economic and social development. This theme has been reiterated in almost all the Plans and Programmes of the Ministry of Education.⁴⁸

Normally, the increasing demand for education is considered as a reflection of the increasing demand for qualification⁴⁹ but this does not seem to be the case with respect to the Colombian educational system. We observe that the process of restructuring the field of production did not lead to fundamental changes in the structure of the educational system. As a consequence, the reproduction and distribution of the output created by the educational system did not meet the demands of the field of production.

Different factors have made the systemic relations between education and production weak. Among others, we can consider the following:

1. By tradition, primary and secondary education have not been vocationally oriented. First, because primary education does not prepare people for vocations and, secondly, because the practice of secondary education has actually not been associated with specialised training for particular jobs. Whilst policy has been

48. Most of the foundations of these Plans and Programmes can be found in the Reports of international Missions. Thus, for example, the ILO Report (1970) "Towards Full Employment: A Program for Colombia" proposed a vocational model of structural reform of the educational system, adopted since the 1970s. This report was the source of the Programme "Las cuatro estrategias" (The Four Strategies) (1971) and of the Programme "Para cerrar la Brecha" (To Close the Gap) (1975).

49. Gomez (1981) has claimed that during the second half of the century the educational system has been deeply influenced by the approach of "technical functionalism of education". Here educational experience is directly related to productivity, educational requirements must be in correspondence with the actual requirements for training in production, technological demands produce changes in

oriented to practice no systems of training, no lengthy programmes, no definition of contents, contexts and possibilities of training have been either defined or designed.

2. The general aims of primary and secondary education have been to legitimate the dominant culture, basically to reproduce the regulative order. Furthermore, the aims of secondary education have been associated with the production of "the educated man" with the emphasis on general education.
3. The relative slow development of the field of production during the first half of the century did not stimulate major adaptations of the educational system to economic activities. Workers learned to perform their jobs in the work place without the assistance of education (Lucio and FES, 1978).
4. Furthermore, at the level of vocational training, the low scientific and technical qualification, and the low social status of these educational curriculum in comparison with the "academic" (bachillerato clasico)⁵⁰ created contradictions between the skills and dispositions demanded by production and the skills and

49. cont'd

the occupational structure and as a consequence produced changes in the educational demands. However, this thesis ignores the contradictions inherent in the relations between education and production.

50. In practice, the strong classification between academic and vocational education has been a traditional rule in the Colombian educational system. The following figure shows the gap between academic bachillerato and the other educational modalities of secondary education.

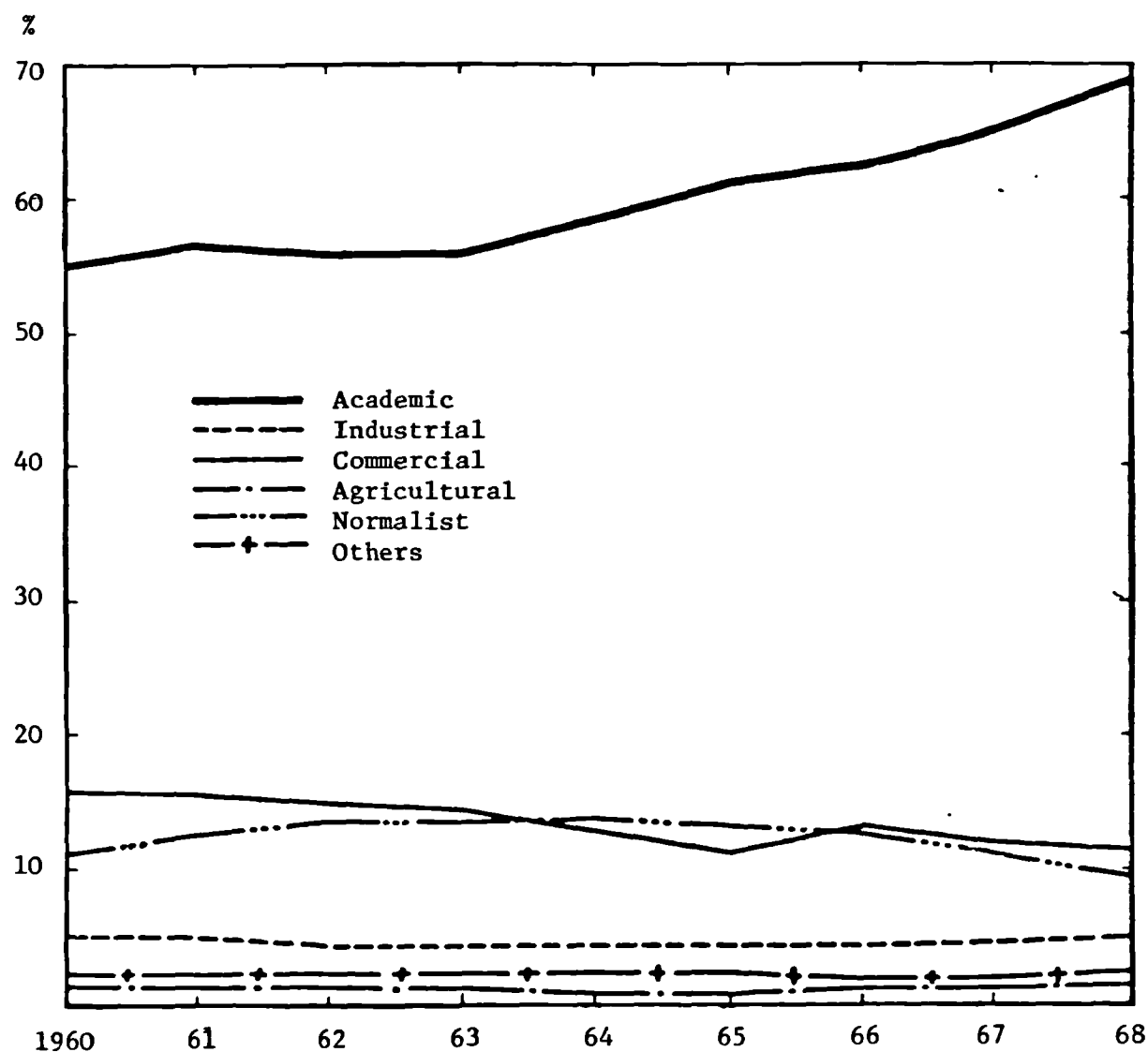
.../cont'd

dispositions offered by the educational system.⁵¹

5. The internal classificatory features of the educational system continued to be reproduced: (a) the strong classification between rural and urban education; (b) the strong classification

50. cont'd

Distribution of the enrolment in the modalities of secondary education (1960-1968).



Source: DANE (1971:147)

51. The ILO report (1970) pointed out that in spite of the considerable expansion of the educational system in the 1960s and "some major new ventures to improve the quality of education" the majority of students did not get either the length or the type of education for which the system was designed.

between levels of the system; (c) the high rates of drop-outs (Table 5); and (d) the low level of retention⁵² (of each 1000 pupils registered in the first grade of primary school, only 50 finish the complete cycle) (MEN (no date), Lineamientos Generales del Curriculum Colombiano; Camacho, et al., 1981). These internal characteristics, considered by others as "deficiencias"⁵³ have been seen, especially in the rural areas, as the sources of inadequate preparation for the labour force.

Table 5 Rates of Drop-outs Within Each Level of the Colombian Educational System (%)

Cycle	1955	1961
primary	85	78
secondary	76	73
higher	63	55

Source: MEN

6. The high rate of unemployment has created an imbalance between the distribution of the categories created by the Educational System and the categories required by production. As a consequence of the failure of production to expand there are many engineers without a job and many technicians without a job. Of the factors which have influenced the imbalance the following are important: the low rate of investment in the industrial sector⁵⁴ despite its relative high productivity, and the high demand for relatively unqualified personnel in the agricultural sector.

52. Figures concerning the "efficiency" of the Colombian Educational System are presented by Garcia, N. (1973).

53. See Garcia, N. (1973:84-112), and ILO (1970).

54. The growth of the industrial sector in 1976 was only of the order of the 2.4%.

In brief, we could say that only a small fraction of the output of the Colombian educational system has been utilised by the field of production. Even if the educational system produced a high rate of qualified agents whose skills and dispositions had a direct relation to the field of production, these agents would only enter into the what has been called "the reserved army of skilled unemployed" (Carnoy, 1982). This means that the systemic relations between education and production are still very weak despite attempts by the State to strengthen them by an ideology of educational development. Education and production in Colombia have been and continue to be two strongly classified categories whose systemic relations continue to be weak.

We will now examine the relations between the educational system, the State and the Church.

3. Education - the State and the Catholic Church

To begin with we can say that since the beginning of the Colombian educational system in the 19th century, education has been subordinated to the State and to the powerful influence of the Catholic Church. This subordination has permitted the State and the Catholic Church to control both the organisation of the discourse to be reproduced and the means of its reproduction. It is important to note that this shared control has not been free of contradictions. These contradictions emerged as a result of the increasing tendency to secularise education. The decisions of the State to impose its control and organisation on education (during the 19th century) produced serious resistance and opposition by the Church. The gradual evolution of the coalition between the Church and the conservative party led to the inclusion of this conflict into the political arena. This controversy was reflected in the educational policies of each party and in their aims of education. By the end of

the 19th century the control on education by the State and its extension to the Catholic Church was legitimised through the "Concordat" signed in 1886 which is still in force. Through this agreement the Church has the legal right (official privilege) to intervene in educational issues (see pp. 204-207 in this chapter) and to administrate its private schools.

The State control of education includes all principles, contexts and possibilities of reproduction. Colombian education is explicitly regulated by the State which controls all definitions of educational policy, all definitions of educational needs, and the discourse to be reproduced, together with its means of reproduction and evaluation.⁵⁵ In order to control the reproduction of discourse the State has created (and modernised) a set of specific agencies whose function is to define and regulate the principles, contents and contexts of pedagogic reproduction (so much for relative autonomy!) The Official Pedagogic Code is constructed by the State's own recontextualising agencies. In this way the State attempts to constrain and govern the realisation of pedagogic practices through which the dominant power and control relations are legitimised, maintained and reproduced.⁵⁶

55. In Colombia, the politics of educational change are initiated by the Ministry of Education which reflects both international and national policies.

56. In this respect, Bernstein draws our attention to the following proposition: "The class-based distribution of power and modalities of control are made substantive in the form of transmission/acquisition irrespective of variations in the systemic relations between the modes of education and production. In this way the educational system maintains the dominating principles of the social structure" (Bernstein, 1977:186).

Conclusion

In this chapter we have attempted to analyse the distinguishing features of the field of production, the field of symbolic control, the State, and their relations to the Education in Colombia. The main features of these relations can be summarised as follows:

1. Education in Colombia may be considered a class-based instrument relevant to the reproduction of the class relations generated by the field of production.
2. The relations between education and production in Colombia have been historically marked by a strong classification, which has insulated education from the process of economic development. This has established a relative autonomy of education with respect to the field of production.
3. In the course of the historical development in Colombia the State has attempted to strengthen the relations between education and production by creating structural reforms of the educational system. However, today the relations between education and production still remain weak.
4. Whilst there is relative autonomy of education with respect to production arising out of the weak systemic relations between these two fields there is, by contrast, very little autonomy made available by the State to the field of education. The State through its different administrative and Pedagogic Agencies controls the means, contexts and possibilities of the educational system. State Pedagogic Agencies, for example, define the codes of transmission/acquisition of educational discourse. We consider that, in this case, the official code of transmission (Official Pedagogic Code,

OPC) is not in the teachers' control.

However, despite the severe constraints upon teachers' and pupils' practices, the dilemmas, contradictions and cleavages arising out their positioning in the classroom, school and family ensure tensions, anomalies and conflicts which militate against perfect reproduction of the OPC. It is a matter of interest, however, that whilst teachers have resisted the Estatuto Docente (Law on Teachers) and other regulations against their rights, there is no evidence of any public resistance or attempts to change the Official Pedagogic Code, which we will now proceed to describe in detail.

Bibliography

- Agudelo, C. (1974) "El Estado y los Partidos Politicos en Colombia 1930-1973", Ideologia y Sociedad, No. 9.
- Benoit, A. (1974) Changing the Educational System: A Colombian Case-Study, Muchen: Welforum Verlag.
- Bernstein, B. (1977) Class Codes and Control: Vol. 3. Towards a Theory of Educational Transmissions, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bourdieu, P. (1968) "Intellectual Field and Creative Project" in Young, M.F.D. (ed.) (1981), Knowledge and Control, London: Macmillan.
- Bourdieu, P. (1980) Questions de Sociologie, Paris: Minuit.
- Bibliowichz, A. (1979) Lo Publico es Privado: Un Analisis de la Television Colombiana, Doctoral Thesis, Cornell University.
- Camacho, G.A. (1977) La Organizacion Social de la Centralizacion del Capital en Colombia, Cali, Univalle.
- Camacho, A. et al. (1981) "Colombia en los 80: Hacia una Caracterizacion de la Coyuntura Historica en Colombia", Boletin de Coyuntura Socio-economica, No. 4, Cali, Univalle.
- Carnoy, M. (1982) "Education, Economy and the State" in Apple, M. (ed.) (1982), Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Casallas, B.A. (1956) La Evolucion Educativa en Colombia, Bogota: Cultural Colombiana.
- Corr, E.G. (1972) The Political Process in Colombia, Denver, Colorado: A publication of the University of Denver.
- Currie, L. (1950) The Basis of a Development Program for Colombia, Washington D.C.: IBRD.
- Currie, L. (1965a) Operacion Colombia, Barranquilla: Camara de Comercio.
- Currie, L. (1965b) Ensayos sobre Planeacion, Bogota: Tercer Mundo.
- Currie, L. (1966) Accelerating Development: The Necessity and the Means. With Application of a Breakthrough Plan to Colombia, New York: BacGraw Hill.

- Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, DANE (1971) Boletín Mensual de Estadística, No. 243.
- Departamento Nacional de Planeación, DNP (1972) Las Cuatro Estrategias, Bogotá: Editorial Los Andes.
- Departamento Nacional de Planeación, DNP (1975) Para Cerrar la Brecha. Plan de Desarrollo Social, Económico y Regional, Bogotá: Ediciones del Banco de la República.
- Departamento Nacional de Planeación, DNP (1980) Plan de Integración Nacional 1979-1982, Bogotá: Industria Continental Gráfica.
- Dix, R. (1967) Colombia: The Political Dimension of Change, New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Fals Borda, O. (1965) La Educación en Colombia: Bases para su Interpretación Sociológica, Bogotá: Facultad de Sociología.
- García, N. (1973) Sociología de la Educación en Colombia, Bogotá: Imprenta Patriótica del Instituto Caro y Cuervo.
- Gómez, V.M. (1981) Educación y Mercados de Trabajo: Políticas de Selección, Ponencia de Mejico, Bogotá, MEN.
- International Labour Organization, ILO (1970) Towards Full Employment: A Programme for Colombia, Prepared by an Inter-Agency Team Organised by the International Labour Office, Geneva 1970.
- Jiménez Cadena, G. (1967) Sacerdote y Cambio Social: Estudio Sociológico de los Andes Colombianos, Bogotá: Tercer Mundo.
- Jaramillo Uribe, J. (1964) El Pensamiento Colombiano en el Siglo XIX, Bogotá: Temis.
- Kalmanovitch, S. (1977) Ensayos sobre el Desarrollo del Capitalismo Dependiente, Bogotá: Editorial Pluma.
- Lebot, I. (1972) "Elementos para la Historia de la Educación en Colombia en el Siglo XX" in DANE, Boletín Mensual de Estadística, No. 249, pp. 123-161.
- Levine, D.H. (1981) Religion and Politics in Latin America: The Catholic Church in Venezuela and Colombia, Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Lombard, F.J. (1979) The Foreign Investment Screening Process: The Case of Colombia, 1957-1967, Boulder, Colorado: West View Press.
- Lucio, R. y FES (1978) 20 Años del Sena en Colombia, 1957-1977, Bogotá.

Melo, J.O. (1978) "La Republica Conservadora" in Arrubla, M. et al. (eds.) (1978), Colombia Hoy, Bogota: Siglo XXI Editores.

Memoria (1935) Memoria del Ministro de Educacion al Congreso de 1935, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1935) El Texto de los Programas de Primera y Segunda Ensenanza, Bogota.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1970) "La Educacion en Colombia 1960-1968", anexo estadistico, Bogota.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (no date) Lineamientos Generales del Curriculo Colombiano. Bogota, Direccion General de Capacitacion y Perfeccionamiento Docente, Curriculo y Medios Educativos.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1982) La Calidad de la Educacion Secundaria, Bogota.

Musto, S.A. et al. (1971) Los Medios de Comunicacion Social al Servicio del Desarrollo Rural: Analisis de Eficiencia de Accion Cultural Popular-Radio Sutatenza, Colombia, Bogota: Editorial los Andes.

Pan American Union (1967) The Alliance for Progress and the Latin American Development Prospects, Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press.

Perloff, H.S. (1969) Alliance for Progress: A Social Invention in the Making, Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press.

Perry, G. (1975) "Comentario al libro de Foxley A. Estrategias de Desarrollo y Modelos de Planificacion", Coyuntura Economica, Fedesarrollo, Bogota.

Ramirez, J.M. (1982) "Industrialisation and Development in Colombia". A paper presented to the Conference on Geographical perspectives on "Development" held at Bedford College, University of London, 8-10 July.

Safford, F. (1965) "Foreign and National Enterprise in Nineteenth Century Colombia", Business History Review, XXXIX, 1965, pp. 503-526.

Safford, F. (1976) The Ideal of the Practical. Colombia's Struggle to Form a Technical Elite, Austin and Londres: University of Texas Press.

Sorpa, M. (1976) Neo-imperialismo y Sub-desarrollo Colombiano, Bogota: Cinep.

Uribe, A.J. (1927) "Prologo" en Instruccion Publica: Disposiciones Vigentes, Exposiciones de Motivos, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional, pp. X-XXXVIII.

United Nations-ECLA (1968) Education, Human Resources and Development in Latin America, New York: United Nations Publications.

United Nations-ECLA (1969) El Pensamiento de la Cepal, Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria.

Leyes (Laws)

Ley 39 de 1903, sobre Instruccion Publica. (Law 39 of 1903 concerning Public Instruction.)

Ley 38 de 1914, que ordena la creacion de un Instituto Agricola Nacional. (Law 38 of 1914 which commands the creation of a National Agricultural Institute.)

Ley 31 de 1917, sobre la difusion de la Ensenanza Industrial. (Law 31 of 1917 concerning the promotion of Industrial Education.)

Ley 75 de 1926, sobre Educacion Vocacional Agricola. (Law 75 of 1926 concerning Vocational Agricultural Education.)

Ley 14 de 1929, sobre Educacion industrial. (Law 14 of 1929 on Industrial Education.)

Ley 22 de 1930, sobre Educacion Industrial. (Law 22 of 1930 on Industrial Education.)

Ley 132 de 1937, sobre Educacion Vocacional Agricola. (Law 132 of 1937 on Vocational Agricultural Education.)

Ley 143 de 1948, sobre Education Industrial. (Law 143 of 1948 concerning Industrial Education.)

Decretos (Decrees)

Decreto 491 de 1904, por el cual se reglamenta la Ley 39 de 1903, sobre Instruccion Publica. (Decree 491 of 1904 elaborating on Law 39 of 1903 on Public Instruction.)

Decreto 088 de 1976, por el cual se re-estructura el sistema educativo y se re-organiza el Ministerio de Educacion. (Decree 088 of 1976, which re-structures the educational system and re-organises the Ministry of Education.)

CHAPTER TEN

A CASE-STUDY OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN OFFICIAL DISCOURSE*

Introduction

Our concern in this chapter is the analysis of the primary level of the Colombian educational system, from the perspective of official educational reforms between the 1960s and the 1970s. After a detailed description of the reforms we shall use our theoretical model to analyse the underlying principles and contradictory practices established in primary education.

As a level of formal education, the public primary school in Colombia not only attempts to reproduce a mastery of basic intellectual principles and operations, specific types of learning and specific basic competences; it also attempts explicitly and implicitly to orientate pupils to the dominant legitimate order of Colombian society. Thus, the system of knowledge/values primary education reproduces through instructional and regulative practices has been historically produced and legitimised by the State.

We will present here the reasons for our selection of the primary level as our object of analysis.

1. The primary level of education contains specific forms of organisation and principles of communication (by means of which the pupils' consciousness is framed) which reflect and realise the dominant educational

* Appendix Two gives a concise history of primary education in Colombia during the 20th century.

aims and assumptions of the State. It constitutes a setting in which interaction is mediated by the principles and rules of Pedagogic discourse which locate the conditions of existence and reproduction of specific socialising practices into knowledge and legitimate order.

2. Socialising practices at the primary level of education are fundamentally concerned with the transmission of values, attitudes and primary basic competences. The beginning of children's formal education involves new modalities of integration, new forms of learning, the acquisition of new ways of seeing, desiring and evaluating; that is, new patterns of orientation. The primary school represents initiation into a new culture, "the culture of the school". In Colombia, this culture does not represent the whole culture of the society but the culture of the dominant groups. The initiation into formal socialisation, through primary education, occurs through experiences of learning located in a new space, in which meanings transcend particularities of concrete situations and experiences. In this respect, Bernstein has pointed out that "formal education selects, abstracts from, and re-focuses procedures and performances acquired through the process of primary contextualising" (1977:31).¹

3. Primary education in Colombia has been an object of different transformations, innovations and reforms. Major curricula and pedagogic reforms, and the expansion of the primary level during the sixties and the seventies can be seen as the adaptation of national education to the

1. Bruner has considered that what distinguishes schooling from other ways of instruction is that schooling takes learning out of the context of immediate action simply by dint of putting it into a school (1974:177).

ideology of planning and of development in which new modalities of social control are imbedded. The demands of national development (as expressed in different documents, reports, and Ministry Memories) in terms of educational adaptation to economic needs, and, in terms of sociocultural improvement of the population (access of the popular masses to the culture of the school) have legitimised the ideology of "democratisation of culture" by giving priority to the expansion and improvement of elementary education. Thus, it is necessary to explore the characteristics of their educational reforms in primary education in their attempt to produce changes in the modalities of socialisation, of both pupils and teachers.

4. The Primary level of the Colombian educational system is an area of major regulation by Official discourse. It has been the level more extensively controlled and subjected to many interventions by the State. Traditionally, the State has had Constitutional powers to regulate and inspect primary instruction (Article 41 of the National Constitution). Central control has been extended from the financing (complete financing since 1975), to the control over the organisation of knowledge in the curriculum, to teaching methods, to the supervision of instruction and to the regulation and supervision of pedagogic agents. Thus, it is important to analyse from the perspective of Official discourse the changes in the discourse/practice and organisation of primary education.

5. We think there has been little systematic research into primary education as a means of instructional and regulative attachment to Colombian dominant principles. Nor has there been a systematic exploration of the contradictions inherent in the Official discourse regulating the practices of organisation and reproduction of the dominant educational culture. As a consequence, we have no analysis of the extent to which traditional

values still continue to inhere in the primary level of education.

We shall use as data official texts. As the translation of these texts into the language of our model is our major exercise we shall need to give a very detailed description of these texts. It will then be possible to evaluate the adequacy of the language of our model in affecting this translation.

We will locate the analysis of pedagogic changes at the primary level of the educational system - within the second half of the century - in two different socio-temporal contexts:

1. One was originated in the middle fifties and located in the relationships between the demands for economic development and the need to eliminate educational marginality (an ideological formulation expressed in different programmes)². The need for expanding primary education and for creating the conditions for economic and social development constituted the main proposals during this period of relatively low socio-economic development. These purposes were formulated by international organisations and international conferences in which international projects and programmes were issued, and they led to reforms of the internal structure of the educational system and to reforms in the discourse, practice and organisation of the primary level of reproduction.

2. These two aspects were objects of recommendations of foreign missions which elaborated models of action and proposals for economic and social development. The most important missions were the Currie Mission (1950) sponsored by the IBRD which proposed the creation of planning instruments and emphasised the necessity of orienting the efforts of educational investments towards economic development and the "Mision Economia y Humanismo" (see Currie, 1950; Lebreton, 1958). Within the same context the influence of international organisations was increasingly oriented towards Colombian economic and educational development (UNESCO through its "Major Project Number One for Latin America", ECLA through its study of the Colombian economy in 1954, and OAS).

2. The second was inscribed within the context of the educational reform oriented to producing a qualitative and quantitative improvement of education, proposed in the plan of social, economic and regional development, "Para Cerrar la Brecha" (To Close the Gap) (see DNP, 1975). This reform, legitimised through a set of laws, decrees and regulations, the nationalisation of primary education, the restructuring of the Ministry of Education, the restructuring of the educational system, and provided the basis for the creation of the programme of curricular experimentation, which attempted to generate changes in the Pedagogic discourse, practice and organisation of the primary level.

The 1963 Reform of the Primary Level

Conditions of pedagogic change. Sources of a new planning policy as an educational ideology.

One of the underlying arguments in the policy of educational change in Colombia during the period 1957-1963 concerns the role of education in economic development. Basic concepts and pronouncements by economic and educational missions, by the ruling class (the traditional upper class and the new elite groups)³ and their political agents in the State referred constantly to the need for a more adequate fit between the educational system and the demands of economic development. And this argument was reinforced by the idea that the basis for social

-
3. According to Corr (1972) and other authors, the approximate size of the various social classes in Colombia is as follows: The upper class 2% of the total population; the middle class 18%; the lower class 50%; and the mass, 30%. Two important subdivisions are the upper middle class 3%, and the lower middle class 15%. The term mass has been used to refer to the illiterate population.

development lie in the planning of education. Thus, the application of planning to changes in the educational system cannot be seen isolated either from the ideology of planning or from international strategies. As change and development were the basic ideological and political themes during this period, the functions of education must be related to such development.

Thus, the origins of the proposals for change of the primary level of education must be seen in the context of external intervention in the formulation and designing of educational policies.⁴ For Latin America this influence operated through an educational international planning machinery including the periodical celebration of international conferences on educational planning, the training of cadres, the formulation of plans and the promotion of specific projects (see Appendix Three).

In correspondance with the international recommendations, during the period 1957-1963 the Ministry of Education in Colombia launched a series of decrees concerning the reform of Primary education and of Normal education⁵ (schools for training of teachers for primary education). Curriculum and programmes of study (syllabuses), objectives, school schedules, teaching methods, the reorganisation of Normal schools were,

-
4. The importance of direct international influence which we have noted in the paragraph seems to be a common feature in developing countries. To a certain extent, this phenomenon seems to be directly related to two main points: the insistence on the role of education for economic development and the insistence on the necessity for planning. See Velez Garcia, J. (1964).
 5. For details on the reform of Primary education, its objectives and its methods of proceeding, see Memoria, 1959:148-161; Memoria, 1960:123-135; Memoria, 1963 and Memoria, 1964. For details on the reform of Normal education, see Memoria, 1964, Decree 1955 of 1963, and Gooden, H. (1965).

among others, the objects of official legislations. In the same way, the Ministry of Education itself underwent an organisational and administrative reform creating a greater differentiation of functions between its several agencies.⁶

These events represent, in our view, a significant source for deriving a study of the conditions of production of:

1. Official Pedagogic Discourse as a recontextualising means for pedagogic practices;
2. Official pedagogic practices as the expected realisations of the principles of selection, transmission and evaluation given in pedagogic texts (official teaching programmes and didactic guides);
3. The organisation of changes of schools;
4. The competences demanded from pupils.⁷

6. Thus, for example, the new organisation of the Ministry united all the different forms of secondary education (with the exception of teaching training) into one Division of secondary education. More specifically, the reorganisation of the Ministry replaced grouping by "thematic association" by a new grouping based upon "levels". From this perspective, the former Division of Primary and Normal education was abolished and replaced by a new Division of Primary education. The Ministry was divided into two Branches, an Administrative Branch and a Technical Branch. The Technical Branch was organised into Divisions, with specific sections. These were: Division of Elementary Education and Literacy, Division of Middle Education, Division of Higher and Normal Education, Division of Cultural Extension, Division of Technical Services, Division of School Improving. For the complete text of Decree 1637 of 1960, see Memory, 1960.

7. What can be called "pedagogic competence" can be seen in the texts of Decree 1955, reforming Normal education (Article 6). A specific "pedagogic culture" was inserted in the curriculum in correspondence with the aims determined by the Decree.

In this section we will concentrate on the transformation of the structure of the primary level of education. The dynamic of the reform is given by the following inter-relations:

- a. Relations between the State and international political orientations;
- b. Relations within the State which created the transformations of Pedagogic discourse, practice and organisation.

a. Relations between the State and international political orientations

The 1963's Reform of primary education in Colombia - together with the reform of secondary schools and "Normal" schools - must be related to the external influences which shaped a model of development governing different educational transformations. The attempt to articulate a more direct relation between economic and cultural change and the forms, contents and expansion of education, was to be accomplished by the introduction of development planning and of reforms in education. The latter brought about a closer integration and dependence of the educational agencies of the State on the international agencies. From this perspective, the structural changes with the educational agencies of the State and the subsequent educational reforms have been determined, fundamentally, by following educational recommendations and policies (see Appendix Three).

b. Relations within the State in the transformations of Pedagogic discourse, practice and organisation of the primary education

The formulation of educational policies, changes of functions and definition of educational objectives have been areas of control by the

State, although influenced by international policies, recommendations and decisions. We view the realisation of State power over educational reproduction, in the creation of a discursive modality of power which we define as "Official Pedagogic Discourse"; that is, a category of discourse which provides the rules required to regulate the ordering of content, form and function of particular pedagogic practices. We shall now examine the structuring of Official Pedagogic Discourse (OPD).

In 1963, Decree 1710 reorganised primary education. The Decree established a new single curriculum for primary education and abolished the differences between the existing curricula in urban and rural schools. By 1964 the government established for all public and private primary schools an official curriculum designed by the Division of Elementary Education and Literacy. In the same year the Ministry of Education promulgated the didactic guides for the teachers which were expected to regulate pedagogic practices.

We will attempt to present an initial description of the major modifications created by this reform. This description is necessary in order to understand the instructional and regulative orientations of the primary level. These modifications affected objectives, curriculum syllabuses (curricular programmes) and teachers' guides.

Objectives of Primary Education

We assume that the objectives presented below reflect the goals of Official discourse with respect to the pedagogic objects to be produced, or with respect to the expected positions pedagogic subjects must occupy. These objectives represent or celebrate the dominant normative principles expected to be internalised by the pupils in order to be good citizens. They attempt to establish in pupils a commitment

to the symbols, values, knowledge and attitudes, which according to the State constitute the elements of National consciousness. In addition, the objectives attempt to define the roles pupils are expected to fulfil as adults, politically, socially and with respect to their future occupational positions.

The objectives of primary education, as established by Decree 1710 of 1963 are the following:

1. to contribute to the harmonious child's development and to the optimum structuring of his personality through the transmission of the cultural values, his formation within the Christian concept of life and within the principles of freedom and democracy, fundamental factors for the development of the Colombian Nationality;
2. to give the child an integral basic formation through the transmission of elementary knowledge and skills, as instruments of the culture and to encourage him to expand his knowledges and to improve his skills;
3. to inculcate habits of cleanliness, hygiene and of an adequate use of the environment resources and of preservation and defense against its dangers, in order to improve the standard of life;
4. to give the child the opportunity to - through observation, experience and reflection - achieve a rational conception of universe and to eliminate superstitions and prejudices;
5. to prepare the child for a life of responsibility and employment in accordance with his individual aptitudes, and interests, natural and human resources, and the modern techniques, for making him useful for himself and for the society;
6. to prepare the child for the productive leisure by providing him with cultural and practical elements, sports, crafts, recreations, etc.
7. to stimulate in the pupils the sense of appreciation of aesthetic values by the use of means of expression which increase artistic sensibility;
8. to encourage a sense of civic spirit, national identity and solidarity with all peoples of the world.

(Translated from Decreto 1710, Artículo 2.) (Decree 1710, Article 2.)

We consider that these objectives imply a conscious concern with the ideological instrumental and regulative positioning of elementary

education. On the one hand, the notion of "integral formation" of the pupil involves the acquisition of knowledge and elementary techniques as sources of skills; on the other hand, patterns of behaviour, attitudes and values are implied in what we could call "the moral objectives" established in the Decree. However, we can observe that the great emphasis placed on the regulative objectives of primary school socialisation subordinates the instructional objectives provided by the official texts.⁸

Curriculum

The curriculum promulgated by decree 1710 differed little from its predecessor established by the Government in 1950. Subjects were organised into areas. Periods of time were prescribed for each area and its subjects. A compulsory curriculum had to be completed in 198 days and in 1080 hours. Although no hierarchical status was assigned to the areas, a little more time was devoted to the Spanish area. The areas and subjects selected in the curriculum were:

AREAS	NUMBER OF HOURS PER WEEK				
	I	II	III	IV	V
Moral and religious education	3	3	3	3	3
Spanish	9	9	7	7	6
Mathematics	6	6	5	5	5
Social studies	5	5	6	6	6
Natural sciences	3	3	5	6	6
Aesthetic and manual education	4	4	4	4	4
Physical education	3	3	3	3	3
<hr/>					
TOTAL (WEEKLY)	33	33	33	33	33

8. These objectives were also in sympathy with concepts issued by

The subjects to be taught within each area of the curriculum were the following:⁹

Moral and religious education: religion and religious history.

Spanish: reading and writing, vocabulary, oral composition, writing and grammar.

Mathematics: arithmetic and geometry.

Social studies: history, geography civics, deportment, and conduct.

Natural sciences: introduction to natural sciences.

Aesthetic and manual education: music, singing, drawing and manual skills.

Physical education: dancing, educational gymnastics and organised games.

We should note the range of subjects and their potential for regulative discourse.

8. cont'd

international missions on primary education. The Lebrete Report (Part Five) stated: "Primary education if it is truly universal inculcates in the future citizens not only elementary knowledge, but a national sentiment, which prepare people to perform their political role" (Lebrete, *op. cit.*).

9. The 1963 curriculum was organised on the following basis:

- (a) common curriculum for the whole country;
- (b) grouping of similar subjects to form teaching areas;
- (c) integration of subjects in the first and second year;
- (d) gradual and progressive separation of subjects within each area from the third year "to achieve a logical transition between the last year of elementary schooling and the first year of secondary schooling";
- (e) sequencing of the content between one year and another;
- (f) coordination between the syllabus and the development of the subject. (See Memoria, 1963.)

We observe that Official discourse designed the new curriculum apparently based upon a progressive perspective; however, a later analysis of these pedagogic texts will reveal contradictions internal to the Official discourse.

Curricular Programmes

By Resolution 068/1964, official programmes were designed for all urban and rural schools. These programmes enunciate the general and specific objectives for each of the above areas in each year and the contents, procedures and activities to be developed. The procedures and activities constitute the methodological strategies to be followed by the teacher.

The official programmes are headed by a message from the Ministry of Education to the primary school teachers introducing the main features of the programmes. These features may be summarised as follows:

1. They established with clarity the general and specific objectives of each one of the subjects;
2. They provide instructional techniques for the teachers;
3. They temper and sequence the knowledge according to a concept of mental and physical development of children;
4. They integrate knowledge in the first two years;
5. They are presented in a rhetorical display of three columns which specify the "content", "procedures" and "activities" to facilitate teaching practice;
6. They are written in a simply and clear form for easy comprehension by the teacher.

According to the Minister's Introduction the function and mission of the teacher is that of a conscientious implementation of the programmes. The Introduction adds: "What is of interest, is the spirit, the ethics and the devotion with which teachers interpret and realise the programmes ... this task must be more formative than instructive" (MEN, 1964, Programas de Enseñanza Primaria).

The official introduction states that the programmes respond to the demands made by international educational agencies and to concepts and new techniques developed in the national educational field (MEN, 1964). It ends with advice to teachers: "The Division of Elementary Education and Literacy leaves the primary school programmes in the teachers' hands and it hopes that with the teachers' action and enthusiasm they will form the cultural patrimony of nationality" (MEN, 1964:iv).

With this preface, the State, through its Pedagogic Agencies introduces the moral and political basis of the curriculum. We consider that although the programmes have been designed to prepare pupils in the basic principles and operations (mathematics, geography, history), the regulative order (moral and political principles) probably remain the core of the curriculum.

The procedures and activities established by the programmes constitute the means of control of the relations between teachers and pupils. The procedures and activities attempt to define official teaching models. There is little emphasis placed on evaluation of the programmes and no clear principles are given. If the programmes specify the contents and methods they do not specify how acquisition is to be evaluated.¹⁰ Although each subject for each year is given specific objectives these objectives are the same for all years. It is interesting to note that the bureaucratic principle does not provide for the specialising of objectives to years. Nor does it create the means of surveillance and control of teachers and pupils through a technology of evaluation.

10. However, the methods of instruction suggest strong pacing. There must be a process of continuous observation by the teacher, in order to judge and know the attitudes, aptitudes, interests, comprehension, and needs of the pupil. Continuous testing of the pupils was also recommended throughout the year (MEN, 1964).

However, the logic of transmission/acquisition is made explicit by methods of instruction, procedures and activities.¹¹ Thus, for example, the process of transmission/acquisition in mathematics must follow the following sequence: (a) the concrete, (b) the graphic, (c) the symbol, (d) applications, (e) rote learning, and (f) homework (Programmes, from the 1st to the 5th year). The procedures to be used by the teacher parallel this order, as given in the following example:

To teach the proposition "the addition of two natural numbers gives as a result another natural number" the following procedure should be used: add two sets of oranges, realise the concrete operation several times, then realise the arithmetic operation and finally abstract the conclusion. (Translated from MEN, 1964: Programa Quinto grado, p. 51.)

The activities proposed are:

rote exercises, mechanical arithmetic operations to aid learning, exercises so that the pupil can infer principles. (*ibid.*)

In Spanish, the process of transmission/acquisition is ordered in the following way: (a) observation, (b) elaboration, (c) expression. This order was previously realised in the programme of 1935 (MEN, 1935, El texto de los Programas de Primera y Segunda enseñanza). The orientation of the acquisition is exemplified in the following subject:

Orthography. The direction of learning will be the following: (a) write on the blackboard a sentence with a difficult word; (b) give the meaning; (c) pronounce it aloud, collectively and individually; (d) indicate the orthographic difficulty; (e) write the word many times. The pupils must correct the mistakes identified by the teacher. (Translated from MEN, 1964.)

The process of transmission/acquisition in Social studies must be in the following order: Geography: (a) Direct and intuitive observation; (b) Association of knowledge in time and space; (c) Systematising and

11. We will not here give details of the analysis of the Programmes. We shall present only some relevant features.

generalisation of knowledge observed and associated by the pupils.

History: (a) cause; (b) effect (antecedents, conflicts and consequences).¹²

In addition to this "methodology", pupils "will be trained in obedience and in management, in individual and group responsibility, they will transform obligations into habits; they will cultivate the moral values; they will accept the rule, the norm, the law, through conviction and not through coercion or fear" (MEN, 1964:Programa Quinto grado, p. 110).

Generally speaking, the structural dimension of transmission/acquisition is regulated by specific rules, made explicit in the methodology, procedures and activities. It is possible to infer, from a brief review of the programmes that the teacher dominates the transmission/acquisition, and that the teacher-pupil relation is relatively fixed. The transmission presupposes explicit control by the teacher although the teacher is officially defined as a "guide or coordinator" of the acquisition (MEN, 1964). We should note the emphasis given to the importance of regulative discourse.

We will try to schematise the process of organisation of educational knowledge for primary education realised in the programmes using the principles of classification and framing. It is necessary to state that we are dealing with official realisations in pedagogic texts, not with actual realisations in classrooms. However, we assume that owing to the lack of pedagogic training of Colombian teachers during this period¹³

12. Explicit procedures and activities are marked for the development of this methodology.

13. According to the Ministry of Education in 1960 only 30.34% of the whole number of primary school teachers had pedagogic training; 13.38% had an acceptable cultural base but lacked pedagogic training, and 56.26% lacked both a cultural and pedagogic basis.

the programmes (and didactic guides as we will see in the following section) constituted an invaluable source of knowledge of pedagogics as well as providing much practical guidance on how to go about the process of transmission of the official contents and of the process of their acquisition.

	Objectives	Contents	Procedures	Activities
Official discourse	+C	+C	+C	C
Control expected to be realised by the teacher	F	+F	+F	+F*

* Pupils had little opportunity to choose activities.

The official code modality of instructional practice is in this case an explicit function of the regulations realised in the official pedagogic texts. It can be schematised by the following formula:

+C	+F
----	----

We have so far given official code values for transmission/acquisition at the level of the classroom for instructional discourse. We must distinguish the code values which regulate relations "within" from the code values which regulate relations "between". For example, if we are examining within a stage within a school class we regard this analysis as an evaluation of "within relations"; if we are examining relations between stages or between schools within a stage we shall refer to this analysis as an evaluation of "between relations". From this point of view, our previous code values refer to relations "within". We will briefly indicate the changes introduced by the 1962 and 1963 Reforms to "between" relations.

Primary level (1963)

1. De-classification (between rural and urban schools).

The distinction in discourse between urban and rural schools was abolished. Thus, relative to the previous strong classification the 1963 Reform abolished the classification.

2. Strong classification (between stages)

The 1963 Reform introduced integration for the first two years followed by progressive increase of the classification of subjects from the third year (see footnote 9 in this chapter).

Secondary level (1962)

1a. Strong classification (between schools, discourses and stages).

The 1962 Reform retained the specialisation of secondary schools (academic/vocational) and introduced a specialisation of the curricula (common four years followed by two years of specialisation).

We can see that with the exception of 1. there has been an increase in the classificatory strength indicating an increase in specialisation both within and between levels.

Didactic Guides

The Ministry of Education promulgated in 1964 - through Resolution No. 3927 - the didactic guides for the primary school teachers. These guides were based on the official curriculum programmes and were designed to "orient teachers more directly and more technically" (MEN, 1965). The guides were expected to be used in all private and public primary schools of the country. They were designed by the Administrative Office of Joint Educational Programmes" (OAPEC) which was an agency created

in 1962, which administered the programmes wholly or partly financed by the USA.¹⁴

The didactic guides constituted an important official pedagogic text whose function was to provide specific details regulating pedagogic practices: "In sixty years of school organisation in the country it is the first time that the Colombian teacher is given written rules for the development of the teaching programmes ... it is without doubt that the didactic guides represent a testimony of capacity and of educational ideals that will produce changes in the methods and attitudes of the Colombian teachers The country needs to form complete citizens conscious of their rights and obligations, worthy of living in a Christian and democratic society. These are the objectives consecrated in the plans and programmes that teachers have to apply" (MEN, 1965:ii-iv).

The didactic guides clearly establish the control over the process of transmission/acquisition by the teacher: "It must be clear that the Didactic guides are prepared for the Colombian teachers." We consider that this statement and its explanation positions teachers in the social relations of transmission/acquisition. The explanations which justify the preparation of the guide for the teachers are:

"In the teaching-learning process, priority must be given to the teacher, that is, teaching is always regulated by didactic norms."

"As the teacher is the crucial element in educational practice, it is necessary to assist him in the realisation of his mission."

14. Although formally directed by a joint Colombo-American Committee, OAPEC was mainly run by North American experts and assistants, especially through the USAID. Given the diversity of activities for which United States financing and assistance was requested, and offered, OAPEC became a vast and complex organisational unit responsible for a variety of educational projects. On the creation of OAPEC, see Memoria, 1963:23.

"The teacher must be regulated by teaching techniques" (translated from MEN, 1965:v).

The didactic guide introduces a new set of pedagogic texts defining "the development of the child", "motivation", "evaluation", "arrangement and organisation of the classroom" and "educational aids". Some of these texts are transcriptions of foreign periodicals. These themes dictate to the teachers specific representations of the child, modalities of expected pedagogic practice, types of organisation of the classroom, and other specific characteristics of pedagogic labour. Thus, the guide presents each one of the areas selected in the curriculum, and principles are stated for the development of each area.

Problems are illustrated for each grade and are organised in terms of a "main problem" and "secondary problems" derived from the main one. The organisation and development of the concepts through the method of problems is justified in the following terms:

1. they constitute an instrument for the better development of the programmes;
2. each problem integrates themes from different areas around aspects that have special meaning for the child;
3. the logical and psychological order are correlated in each problem and subordinated to the interests and capacities of the child;
4. the problems assure the integration of knowledge and establish a better relation between the school and the environment;
5. the problems are learning problems the child must solve with the teacher's assistance;
6. activities and research are the basis for the solving of problems;
7. the development of each problem should create in the child a reflexive attitude and induce him to think in a context of continuous activity.

8. daily life presents problems whose solutions require the use of different areas of knowledge and different forms of action. (Translated from MEN, 1965:145.)

We shall now show the contrast between the rhetoric of progressive discourse and the specific regulations of the guides. It is important to observe that the development of the problems emphasis the methods of procedures, and provides specific details of the actions that are required to realise specific pedagogic practices. The "pedagogical moves" (Lundgren, 1977) are made explicit:

Begin the activities with a conversation about home.
Ask questions like these: John, where do you live?
Where do we live? Why do we live in a house?
Hands up the pupil who wants to tell us how is his house.
Stimulate pupils with statements like this: Your explanation must be very clear!
Repeat the exercise with other pupils.
When the pupils detail the parts of the house, write the words on the blackboard. When you consider that the list of words corresponding to the part of the house are complete, show the first word and say, for example: Here, it says kitchen (cocina).
Ask:
What does a kitchen for?
What kinds of elements do we use in the kitchen?
Who cooks in the kitchen?
Follow the same process for the study of all the parts of the house.

(Translated from MEN, 1965:146)

or like these:

Continue with a comment about the housework. Ask:
Who prepares the meals in your house, Peter?
What other housework does your mother do, Louis?
What does your mother do, Joaquin?
Repeat the same question to several children.
Write on the blackboard the name of different housework.
Examples: to cook, to clean the house, to wash and iron the clothes, to sew, to sell, to take care of the children, labourers, clerks, etc.
Invite the pupils to put in the flannelograph the illustration corresponding to each occupation. Ask:
In what form can we help in the housework?
Make the pupils understand that work, however humble it may be, is a divine command and dignifies all persons.
Tell the pupils about the social origin of President Marco Fidel Suarez. Emphasise his mother's background. If it is possible, present a picture of the President.

(Translated from MEN, op. cit.:172)

These short examples give a picture of the official dimension of pedagogic communication governed by specific regulations and indicate the strength of official framing of transmission/acquisition.¹⁵

Pedagogic Discourse and Pedagogic Change. Summary.

Let us conclude this chapter by a question: What meaning can be given to the definition of objectives, of curricula, of syllabuses, of teachers' guide and of teachers' training into new competences?¹⁶ We have said that by trying to create a balance between the economic and the social demands for education the reformers assumed that the school was an important instrument of social change, of national development and of symbolic control,¹⁷ and as a consequence the primary level was reorganised and the pedagogic practice was both reformed and subjected to explicit regulations.

-
15. Later, the Ministry of Education started publishing a new version of the guide for teachers with the advice of ICOLPE ("Organisational Unit for Educational Research, Pedagogic Advice and Production of Educational Aids", created by the Ministry in 1968) and of a German Mission. These guides strongly emphasised content and were very rigorous in the guidance of the teacher in his/her pedagogic practice. These guides have been basically used for the training and qualifying of in-service teachers. (See MEN, 1972, Guia para el Maestro, Bogotá.)
 16. Parallel to the primary school reform, the reform of Normal education was introduced (Decree 1955/1963). With this reform there was an attempt to introduce more technical elements in the pedagogic culture of the new teachers, although the pedagogic model itself did not undergo major changes. The basic aims of Normal schools were: (a) to give a Christian and democratic formation; (b) to give a scientific formation; (c) to give a technical and professional formation; (d) to give a civic and social formation; (e) to promote the spirit of solidarity and cooperation. See Memoria, 1964.
 17. It was considered that factors such as the high rate of illiteracy, 45% in 1955, constituted a strong obstacle to the development and preservation of democracy (Memoria, 1963).

The previous culture of the school was adapted rather than changed to accommodate the new demands, and some changes in the school process were effected. For example, there was an attempt to improve instructional practices by subordinating them to official regulation; there was an attempt to change the school's organisational patterns without questioning the basic value premises of its dominant ideological orientation; there was an attempt to improve the pedagogic competence of pedagogic subjects by reforming - by decree - the instructional modalities of teachers' training; and what is of more importance, there was an increase of control of pedagogic subjects by the systematising and by the almost totally defining of the regime of pedagogic practices expected to be realised.

We will attempt to present a schematic interpretation of the Reform in the following figure (Figure 19).

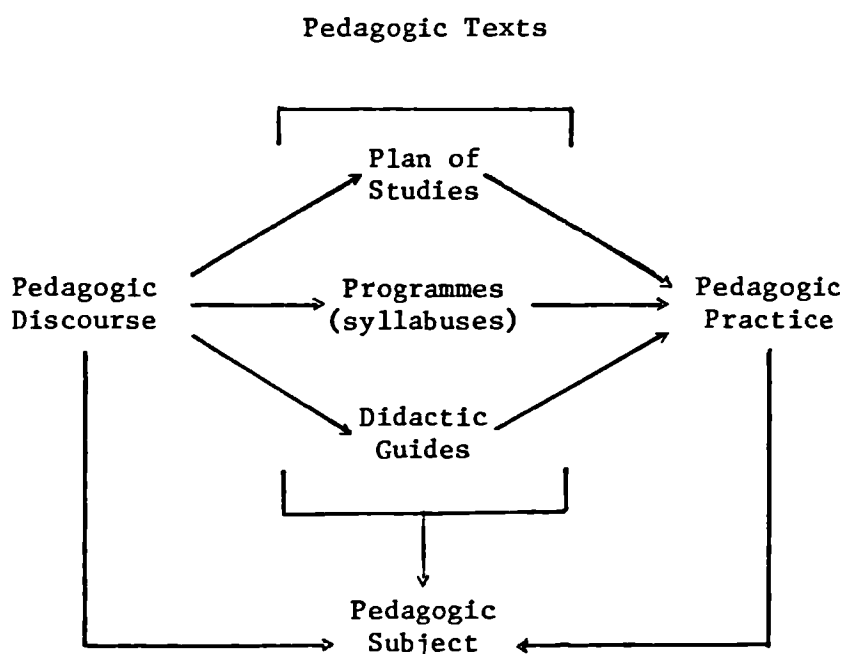


Figure 19

The figure attempts to schematise what could be called the official discursive dimension of pedagogic practices. The distinctive realisations of Pedagogic discourse, that is, pedagogic texts in their different forms (curriculum programmes, didactic guides), provide the specific objectives, the type of contents and relations between them, the procedures, activities, and methodological rules regulating the logic of transmission/acquisition intrinsic to pedagogic practices. This means that official pedagogic texts attempted to define the specific positions of pedagogic subjects in the practices of transmission/acquisition. Subjects, whether teachers or pupils became constrained by pedagogic texts and their intrinsic regulating principles. What we have called the structural dimension of communication within pedagogic practices became a detailed discursive construction, considered necessary for the regulation and orientation of inadequately prepared teachers. The pedagogic texts spelled out, almost word by word, the principles, facts, procedures and pedagogic performances needed for the acquisition of basic knowledge and morals. In this way, pedagogic texts recreated the power relations over teachers, over their practices and over the power relations of the teachers in their practices. The pedagogic ideology of the State was legitimised and informed by dominant international Pedagogic discourse.

It would seem that at the level of OPD we can discern a contradiction between the "progressivism" of the rhetoric with respect to the concept of the child but a close regulation of the practice of the teacher. There is a second contradiction between the emphasis upon National consciousness, obedience, discipline informed by Catholic practices and the concept of the child. There is no contradiction between the official instructional discourse and official regulative discourse but a contradiction between these discourses and the concept

of the child. We shall return to these issues later in the thesis.

The pedagogic reform of 1963 may be considered as an attempt to create a relative improvement in pedagogic practices within the traditional regulative order, and an attempt to expand access to education to the popular classes. We consider that if there was some increase of educational opportunity it was insufficient to cope with the demands of literacy on education.¹⁸

The question arises of the impact of OPD on practice at the primary level. We have noted (Appendix Two) that the history of educational reform in Colombia tends to be a history of changes in laws but not in practice. In the case of the 1963 we can note that international agencies (Appendix Three) played a large part in the organisation of Pedagogic discourse and thus a culture for its increasing influence was prepared. Further, whilst there is some doubt of the impact of the Reform on what we have called "between" relations (de-classification of urban/rural schools, changes of classification of discourse within the primary level) we have good reasons to believe that the Reform impact on "within" relations, that is, in the classroom was considerable. The guides made explicit and more systematic, and perhaps better organised, teaching practice. The "new" did not conflict with the past; indeed, it provided a more rational base. The guides were used, in many cases, almost as a bible for practice. At the level of the classroom there was little change in the fundamental grammar of $\frac{ID}{RD}$: that is,

18. Thus, in 1967 owing to the lack of schools, the government launched an Emergency Plan, in order to increase educational places (cupos) particularly for the popular classes. The Emergency Plan created the double-session schools, and the school in which one teacher continued with the same class for the five grades of the school (this was called the unitary school).

of Pedagogic discourse. If anything, the possibility of its acquisition was strengthened.

The 1963 pedagogic Reform, as we have seen, continued to emphasise a curriculum with excessive subject-matter, and continued to maintain passive teaching methods (strong framing). Teachers continued to have inadequate qualification and training. Thus, for example, by the early seventies, 54% of the rural teachers scarcely had finished primary school (it is important to note that of 65,728 primary school teachers, 22,250 worked in rural areas. In the same way, 27% of the population over 6 years of age was illiterate, 55% of the population over 15 years of age had only a few grades of primary schooling, only 15% had some secondary schooling and only 2% of the population over 15 years of age had some higher education (García, N., 1973).

This situation created the need for a new reform of primary education, which called for new quantitative and qualitative improvement, from a perspective similar to that outline in 1963, and involving almost the same arguments but in a more sophisticated form. Thus, under similar pressures, the Government launched a structural reform of the educational system in 1976 which included primary education. In our view, history was repeated; history did not change. The next chapter introduces the analysis of this Reform.

Bibliography

- Bernstein, B. (1977) Class, Codes and Control: Vol. 3. Towards a Theory of Educational Transmissions, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bruner, J. (1974) The Relevance of Education, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books.
- Corr, E.G. (1972) The Political Process in Colombia, Denver, Colorado: A Publication of the University of Denver.
- Currie, L. (1950) The Basis of a Development Program for Colombia, Washington D.C.: IBRD.
- Departamento Nacional de Planeacion, DNP (1975) Para Cerrar la Brecha. Plan de Desarrollo Social, Economico y Regional, Bogota: Ediciones del Banco de la Republica.
- Gooden, H. (1965) The Education of Elementary School Teachers in the Colombian Normal Schools: An Analysis and Recommendations for Planning, Bogota: UNESCO-AID-IBRD.
- Lebret, L.J. (1958) Mision "Economia y Humanismo". Estudio sobre las Condiciones del Desarrollo en Colombia, Bogota: Cromos.
- Lundgren, U.P. (1977) Model Analysis of Pedagogical Processes. Department of Educational Research, Stockholm Institute of Education.
- Memoria (1959) Memoria del Ministro de Educacion al Congreso de 1959, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional (1959).
- Memoria (1960) Memoria del Ministro de Educacion al Congreso de 1960, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional (1960).
- Memoria (1963) Memoria del Ministro de Education al Congreso de 1963, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional (1964).
- Memoria (1964) Memoria del Ministro de Educacion al Congreso de 1964, Bogota, Duplicaciones Mineducacion (1965).
- Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1935) El Texto de los Programas de Primera y Segunda Ensenanza, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional.
- Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1964) Programas de Ensenanza Primaria. Decreto 1710 del 25 de Julio de 1963, Editorial Bedout.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1965) Guías Didacticas Para Maestros de Primaria, Bogota: Imprenta Canal Ramirez.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1972) Guía Para el Maestro, Bogota: Italgraf.

Velez, G.J. (1964) Caracteristicas de la Educacion en Colombia durante el ultimo decenio, Bogota: UNESCO-AID-IBRD.

Decretos (Decrees)

Decreto 1637 de 1960, por medio del cual se reorganiza el Ministerio de Educacion Nacional y se determinan sus funciones. (Decree 1637 of 1960 which reorganises the Ministry of Education and determines its functions.)

Decreto 1710 de 1963, por medio del cual se adopta el Plan de Estudios de la Educacion Primaria Colombiana y se dictan otras disposiciones. (Decree 1710 of 1963 which establishes the curriculum of Primary education and issues other regulations.)

Decreto 1955 de 1963, por medio del cual se reorganiza la Educacion Normalista. (Decree 1955 of 1963 which reorganises Normal Education.)

Resoluciones (Resolutions)

Resolucion 068 de 1964, por la cual se adoptan los Programas de enseñanza para los establecimientos oficiales y privados de educacion elemental. (Resolution 068 of 1964 which adopts the curriculum to be followed by all private and public schools.)

Resolucion 3927 de 1964, por la cual se adoptan las guías didacticas para interpretar los programas de education primaria Colombiana. (Resolution 3927 of 1964 which adopts the didactic guides to be used for the interpretation of the curriculum in primary education.)

CHAPTER ELEVEN

REFORM OF PRIMARY EDUCATION (1976)

Introduction

This period provides further sources for the analysis of changes in Pedagogic discourse, pedagogic practice and the organisation of the recontextualising and reproducing contexts of the Colombian educational system. These changes can be understood as a further translation of specific demands, created by cultural and economic conditions, into specific reform strategies. Our empirical starting point, in this case, will be the conditions which according to the Government were considered the pressures for change of the educational system. These were:

1. The lack of basic and applied curricular research. This has led to an inadequate recognition of cultural differences and to the application of inadequate curricula and syllabuses;
2. The inadequate pedagogic and theoretical training of teachers. This has affected their creativity, innovative capacity and independence;
3. The lack of attention to pre-school education (according to the Colombian Institute of Welfare, in 1974 only 0.4% of the whole pre-school population received pre-school education);
4. The unequal distribution of educational services between the rural and urban areas;
5. The low qualitative and quantitative effectiveness of primary and secondary levels of education;¹
6. International pressures.

1. For further details on these issues, see DNP (1975) and MEN (1976). Also see "Decree 088, Exposicion de Motivos", in UPN (1976), Documentacion Educativa, Vol. 3, No. 9, pp. 46-56.

In the view of the Government the above conditions generated legitimate demands for changes in the educational system.

These demands were translated into specific educational policies for improving qualitatively and quantitatively the educational system.

In order to improve the "qualitative functioning of the educational system" and to adapt it to the demands generated by the socio-economic and cultural conditions, the State undertook an educational reform which affected the structure of the educational system. The foundations of this reform may be seen in the so-called "Para cerrar la brecha: Programa del sector educativo" (1975-1978), in the Programa Nacional de Mejoramiento Cualitativo de la Educacion (1977a) and in the set of laws and decrees² which legalised the reform. Here, we will refer to aspects of the reform concerning the "qualitative improvement". We will focus on these aspects in order to analyse the main changes in the structure of the recontextualising and reproduction contexts.

Within the reform "qualitative improvement" is understood as changes of a technical and of a political nature leading to a more effective use of technical and economic resources within the educational system. The strategies of the "qualitative" Reform³ may be

2. From the legal point of view, the reform was expressed in a series of laws and decrees, legitimating the power structure and the organisational control of the educational system. These were: Law 43 of 1975 nationalised primary and secondary education; Decree 088 of 1976 restructured the Colombian educational system and the Ministry of National Education; Decree 1419 assigned norms and orientations basic to design and curricular administration in the different levels of the educational system except the Universities); Decree 1816 regulated the experimental schools (Pilot centres); and Decree 089 restructured the Colombian Institute for the Fomentation of Higher Education (ICFES). For complete texts on these Decrees, see UPN, o.c.
3. The strategies concerning the quantitative improvement of education were: the expansion and rationalisation of the educational budget;

.../cont'd

summarised as follows:

1. Reorganisation of the Ministry of Education;
2. Reorganisation of the levels of the educational system;
3. Economic centralisation of education with the exception of the University;
4. Administrative decentralisation of National education;
5. Design and experimentation of new curricula and syllabuses (Plans and Programmes of study);
6. Training of teachers and expansion of Technology of Education;
7. Institutionalisation of non-formal education and of special education.

In Appendix Four, we have described the reorganisation of the Ministry of Education, the levels of the educational system, design of curricula and the constitution of Pedagogic Agencies responsible for the reorganisation of the curriculum and training of teachers. This reorganisation, as can be seen in the Appendix, created a complex bureaucratic structure. This new structure presupposed a set of underlying principles derived from the legal frame which regulated curricula, evaluation and teachers' training.

The legal frame required that knowledge was to be organised into areas, each with its own objectives based upon explicit goals (Decree 1419). Further, the legal frame called for integration, correlation and diversification of areas. The task of the Pedagogic Agencies of the State is within the legal frame to select from philosophy, psychology

3. cont'd

the building of new classrooms and creation of new teaching positions; more effective use of the existing classrooms. See, for further details, MEN (no date), Lineamientos Generales del Curriculum Colombiano, pp. 19-39, and MEN (1976).

and social studies the principles for the organisation of the curriculum and the modalities of its transmission, acquisition and evaluation. We can see that the recontextualising strategies of the Pedagogic Agencies are subordinated in the last instance to the Political Directrix which limits their autonomy and circumscribes the area of their discretion. We should point out that in Colombia the Pedagogic Agencies have the monopoly on the principles of recontextualising and on the control of textbooks.

As in the case of the 1963 Reform, we will focus in some detail upon the curriculum programmes and didactic units for "Basic primary education".

Curriculum Programmes

A curriculum programme is a consequence of a recontextualising principle whereby an area of study or discipline is transformed into specific contents, learning activities and evaluations which satisfies the specific objectives for a given age, subject and school as defined by State regulations. The curriculum programmes represent the planned process of transmission/acquisition/evaluation of educational discourse in pedagogic practices. They are supposed to organise for the teacher the didactic process to facilitate the guiding of pupils in the "acquisition of experiences, development of schemes of thought, behavioural changes and the completion of knowledge and processes already acquired ... teaching is planned in order to structure pupils' learning" (MEN, 1979:22-23).

The Pedagogic Agencies insist that "only when teaching activities are selected and organised in a precise form can they achieve a specifically defined result, such as the acquisition of a specific concept, the

development of a specific habitus by the pupil ... the focal points of a well planned activity are the signs of successful acquisition by the pupil" (MEN, 1979:22).

It follows that all the teacher's activity must display in its very realisation a close relation with the curriculum programmes.

The most important characteristics of the new curriculum programmes refer to their flexibility, sequencing and integration.⁴ Flexibility has many dimensions. It refers to the need for a curriculum to accommodate to technical and scientific development, to be responsive both to the needs of the child and to his/her local cultural context. Sequencing refers here to the breath and depth of knowledge to be acquired at any stage of development and its relation to the next stage. The programmes presuppose an integrated approach in the early years moving towards progressive diversification in the later years.

The internal organisation of any programme must satisfy a rhetoric introducing a programme defining its justification, conceptual structure, contents, methods, media and indices of evaluation. This rhetoric takes the following form:

- a. Justification. This refers to the legal frame and to the philosophical, scientific and methodological requirements of each area of knowledge.
- b. Conceptual structure. This refers to the fundamental concepts, principles or laws of each area. It also refers to the basic concepts to be transmitted at each grade and the sequence they must follow.

4. The concept of integration is based upon the principle that the child apprehends reality as a "whole" and as a consequence the curriculum must reveal this "wholeness". According to this assumption the principles of transmission must be based upon principles of the child's own development. See MEN, 1979:24-27. Also, Decree 1419, Articles 6 and 7 and MEN, Lineamientos, pp. 87-95.

- c. General and specific objectives. These refer to the goals of the educational system and their realisation in areas, levels, stages and grades.
- d. Basic contents. These refer to the themes, concepts or general principles specified for a particular grade according to the conceptual structure (b).
- e. Methods. These refer to the didactic practices for the acquisition of the basic concepts.
- f. Educational resources. These refer to the resources necessary to the stimulation and reinforcement of learning.
- g. Evaluation indices. These are the means to detect whether the objectives have been achieved or specific behaviours acquired.⁵

The State through the Pedagogic Agencies of the Ministry of Education has created an explicit methodological device for the programming of the programmes. However, as we have seen, the principles of its programming are highly general and perhaps should be regarded as an expression of power made substantive and specific in the didactic units which we will now describe.

Didactic Units (Integrated Units)

In the case of the 1963 Reform, didactic guides were created without explicit reference to evaluation. We should notice that the 1976 Reform refers to didactic units which include detailed principles of their evaluation. The grid of pedagogic control has now become more explicit, more wide-ranging and possesses a finer mesh.

To begin with we can say that one important dimension of the new reform is the claim that pupil is the centre of the educational process. Thus, the curriculum programmes (syllabuses) place special emphasis on

5. All these have been described in MEN, 1979:27.

learning.⁶ "The way in which a child learns must dominate the design of the different programmes. Accordingly, didactic instruments must be elaborated which integrate the elements of the programmes with the learning process of the child. The didactic units have been elaborated with this in mind. They are part of the curricular programmes but have their own characteristics" (MEN, 1979:28). The development of the units has to consider "not only the pupil but also the integration of knowledge, feeling and action" (MEN, 1979:29). From this perspective, the units play a central role in the constitution of pupils' experience.

The didactic units are a functional model for the development of learning. They integrate a set of experiences of learning, make learning a more systematic process, determine what is possible to learn at a specific age, and organise a set of activities necessary for such learning. Didactic units are an instrument not only for the methodological organisation of the curricular programme but also of teaching.

A new language has been created which distinguishes between levels and their integration. The curriculum programme creates areas of knowledge (e.g. Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, Spanish and Literature, Mathematics, Arts, Religion, Physical Education). These separate areas are integrated into units appropriate to each age up to the third year. In fact, if we examine in detail any integrated unit or the set of units for a year we find a serial organisation of contents derived

6. In the view of the Pedagogic Agencies, "Learning means the appropriation of reality through knowledge. Pedagogic work is to help the pupil to discover the reality and its multiple relations, to organise experiences that help the pupil to understand what has been perceived through the practice. For the programme to be effective it must be organised in such a way that it can be easily assimilated by the pupils" (MEN, 1979). We consider that "reality", "experiences" and "knowledge" selected by Pedagogic Agencies constitute the basis for the production/reproduction of the desired social order to be acquired.

from the different areas. Each content is given its own specific objective and index of evaluation. After the third year, there is a weakening of official integration which is replaced by specialised blocks of areas. Each block is presumed to integrate the areas it contains. The integrated units are now the device for organising teaching within the following blocks:

Block 1: Nature and Society (it integrates Social Sciences, Natural Sciences and Spanish);

Block 2: Creation and Expression (it integrates Spanish and Arts);

Block 3: Physical Education and Music;

Block 4: Mathematics;

Block 5: Religion (on which Church authorities decide).

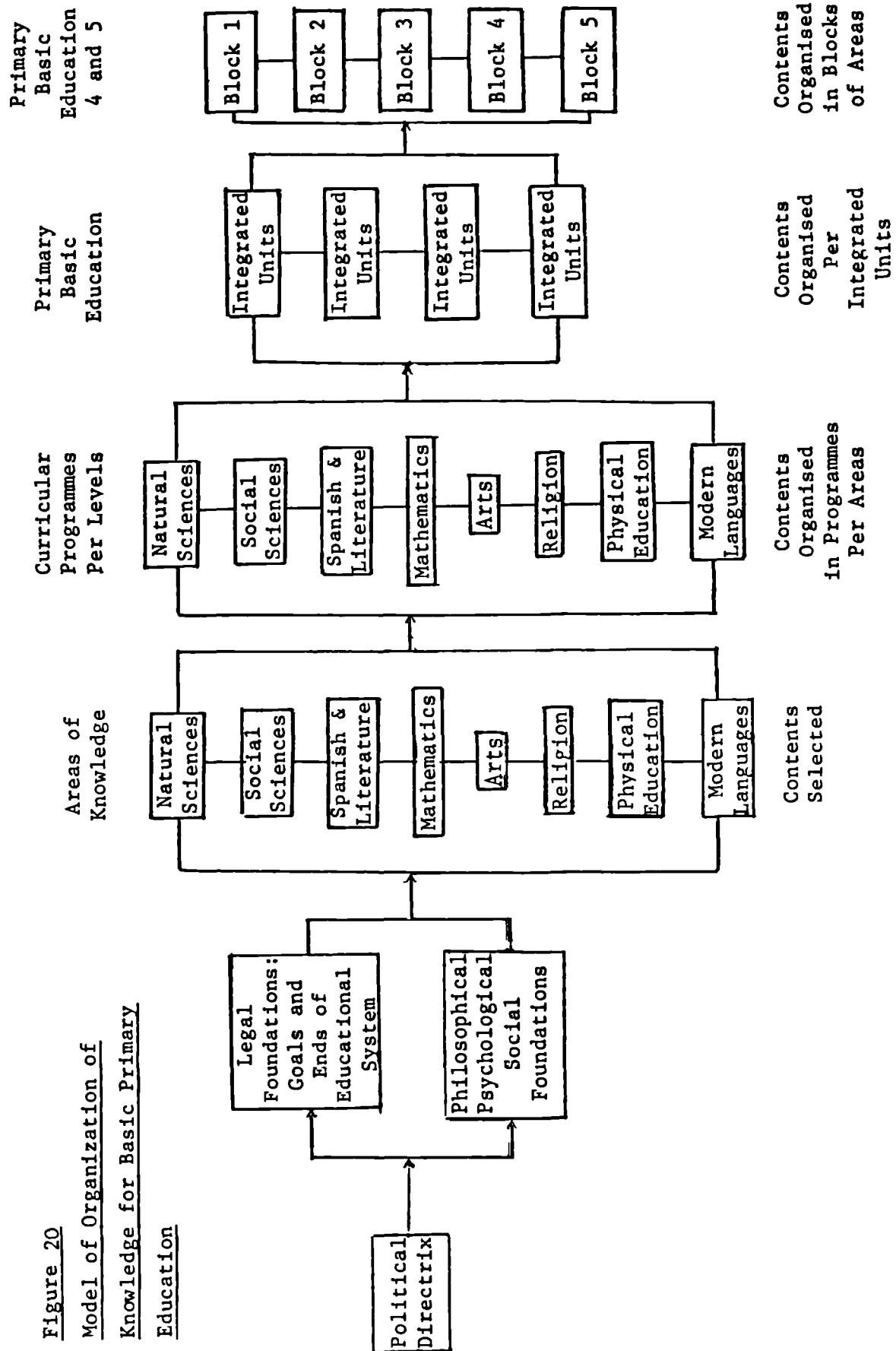
The scheme in Figure 20 shows the model for the organisation and distribution of knowledge (programmes and units) for basic primary education.

The Pedagogic Agencies define integrated units as:

1. An internal structure constituted by the similarity of concepts between the different areas which form the units from first to third grades and of the areas which form the blocks in the fourth and fifth grades. These concepts are organised in a logical, pedagogical and psychological sequence. The relations between the fundamental concepts of a unit give rise to the "theme of the unit". These themes are developed through a harmonious set of activities through which the concepts are supposed to be integrated.

2. An external structure which refers to the regulation of the transmission. This is composed of:

- a. A title - expressing the theme of the unit;
- b. Time - probable time to develop the unit;



Source: MEN, 1979a.

- c. Introduction - concerns the general description of the content of the unit;
- d. General objectives - these consider (and must consider) not only the cognitive aspects but also the development of attitudes and skills. They must be in correspondence with the general objectives of the areas which in turn must be in correspondence with the general objectives of Basic primary education;
- e. Pedagogic resources - these refer to the necessary means for the performance of the activities. This section also contains instructions for the production of materials whether necessary.
- f. Contents - these are the fundamental principles, laws, notions and skills expected to be developed. They have a close relation with the specific objectives;
- g. Specific objectives - these are the proper objectives of the unit and lead to the achievement of the general objectives. These objectives are expressed in terms of behaviour and in terms of the contents to be acquired. There are two kinds of specific objectives in the integrated units: those oriented to the achievement of the contents of the unit and those oriented towards the integral formation of the pupil;
- h. Activities and methodological suggestions - these are proposed for the learning experiences leading to the pupil's structuring of the concepts. They are designed to involve pupils in specific activities. The activities are complemented with suggestion to the teachers about the most effective way to realise them;
- i. Indices of evaluation - whose enunciates describe the observable behaviour for detecting or inferring successful acquisition. The indices of evaluation specify qualitative and quantitative aspects of pupils' performances. (Translated from MEN, 1979:35-37)

We can note a similarity between the logic of the programme (see pp. 268-269) and now the logic of the transmission of the units. In this way, the rhetoric of power is translated into a rhetoric of control.

The teacher is given a space in the transmission of each integrated unit which permits the teacher to decide how much time is spent on any one of the objectives making up a unit, within the total time available to complete a unit. This process is called "parcelling out". The only control formally available to the teacher is over the distribution of time within the units.

What are the relations between the teacher and the curriculum?

It can be seen that "curriculum programmes" and "integrated units" are the basis for the pedagogic practice. In the view of the Pedagogic Agencies the curriculum programmes have an explicit end: "to contribute to the development of the pupil, producing in him a positive change in terms of attitudes, manner of thinking, knowledges and talent" (MEN, 1979: 38). The "integrated units" are the didactic instruments through which the elements of the programmes and the processes of learning are conjugated.

The responsibility of the teacher is "to structure the experiences leading to the desirable changes in the pupil and to motivate and stimulate him to learn." The activities the teacher has to develop involve the what, how and criteria for evaluation. "To answer these questions the teacher must know the curriculum programme ... the teacher must refer continuously to the programme as a point of reference and as an instrument of consultation." At the same time, the integrated units are prepared for the teacher to regulate his/her work with the pupils. Thus, besides determining the organisation of knowledge curriculum programmes and units attempt to shape the pedagogic practice of the teacher and teachers' and pupils' consciousness.

The structural dimension of communication of the transmission/acquisition process within the didactic units is explicit. On the one hand, the teacher controls the acquisition process, on the other, the teacher himself/herself is controlled by the didactic units. The "pedagogical moves", again, as in 1963, have specific steps, but now within the interplay between specific objectives and the indices of evaluation. For example.

The teacher will present the pupils a short story of a Colombian or Latin American author. We suggest (the Pedagogic Agencies suggest here the short story, given in the didactic unit)

The teacher will read the short story and then he will ask questions about it. What is the title of the story? Who is the author? What are the main personages? Then the teacher will begin the analysis of the structure of the short story asking about the beginning, middle and end

The teacher will correct pronunciation mistakes, he will teach them how to use adequate intonation, he will stimulate the pupils to use the acquired vocabulary, basically, the vocabulary learned in the unit.

The teacher will organise groups of four or five pupils, for them to create a short story

Creativity will be stimulated in pupils and the teacher will try to present regional and national themes.

Translated from:
MEN (1979b) Unidades Integradas Experimentales, Unidad III, Tercer grado, Educacion Basica Primaria, pp. 10-13.

Another example is the following:

The teacher will begin a dialogue with the pupils about their parents' activities and he will write these activities on the board. He will take one of the jobs mentioned, for example miner and will ask questions about this job such as, what does the miner transform? What kind of instruments does the miner use?

The teacher will write the answers on the board. He will explain that in each activity man transforms materials directly from the nature of materials that already have been transformed. He will present the definition ... "we call raw material

The teacher will ask the pupils: Is coal before extraction from nature a raw material or a transformed material? If the answer is not correct the teacher will clarify the concepts with examples.

The teacher will explain that man for the transformation of raw materials needs instruments. The teacher will ask the pupils to name instruments that their parents use in their activities. In doing this, the teacher will take into consideration the answers already written on the board.

With the given examples, the teacher will try to make pupils identify corresponding human activities. E.g. shoemakers transform the leather, peasants cultivate land, etc.

In the same way the teacher will make pupils identify the products obtained from work

The teacher will organise a visit to a factory or to a farm.

He will distribute among pupils tables which pupils must fill after identifying the field of work.

After such observing pupils will write on cards the words learned with their meanings, and they will put them in the dictionary they have been making since the first unit.

The teacher will guide the phraseology exercises with the new vocabulary to be sure that the pupils use it with clarity.

Translated from:
MEN (1979b) Unidades Integradas Experimentales, Unidad IV, Tercer gardo, Educacion Basica Primaria, pp. 8-10.

Control of acquisition is exerted by excluding the possibility of ambiguity and variation. This can be inferred from the official pedagogic regulations.⁷ Pedagogic Agencies have created a rigorous atomistic and mechanistic representation of pedagogic practices which constitutes the constraining framework for teachers. Interesting questions can be raised here not only with respect to the form of the communication but also to the content that the practice presents to the pupils. The content becomes a method for creating a legitimate reality.⁸

The relation between the curriculum programmes and the integrated units for the everyday pedagogic practice is made explicit in the "parcelling" of the units. "Parcelling" refers to "the distribution and organisation of the integrated unit's activities according to specific objectives within a specific time" (MEN, 1979:42-43). "Parcelling" has the function of organising, rationalising and measuring

7. Interesting questions have been raised by Apple (1982) on the control of pedagogic process, through pre-designed curriculum/teaching/evaluation 'systems' which according to Apple control the pedagogic skills of the teacher.

8. This issue has been developed by Grignon, C. (1971).

the activities required for the achievement of the objectives defined by the units. More specifically, "parcelling" controls the sequencing of the transmission. There exist, then, specific criteria for "parcelling" the integrated units, and a specific "parcelling fiche" is provided for the teacher. At the same time "parcelling" must take into consideration the criteria made explicit for the organisation of the timetable.

It seems to us that the programmes and units have been designed to make the schooling process more explicit and to attempt to codify the new pedagogic practices teachers are expected to realise. These only constitute a part of the process of control of educational reproduction at the primary stage for there exists a whole set of administrative principles for schools which are also relevant to the realisation of pedagogic practices. The Manual of Curriculum Administration for Basic Primary Education describes what is called "libros reglamentarios" (notebooks, teachers and school administrators must fill in) which provide "evidence of the administrative and pedagogic work undertaken by the school directors and teachers (MEN, 1979: 89).

It may be helpful to summarise the most important aspects of the organisation of knowledge in the programmes and units we have described.

1. From the general goals of the Colombian education, objectives corresponding to each one of the goals were derived for each level and for each stage of the context of reproduction. These, in turn, were the source for the formulation of the general objectives for each one of the areas according to level and grade. The objectives are formulated in terms of the knowledge, skills and attitudes relevant to each area of knowledge. From the selection and formulation of the objectives for each area, the curriculum programme for each grade was

designed. This task was assigned to specialists teams in the different areas of knowledge located in the Pedagogic Agencies who selected the knowledge of the area for each grade. The design of the organisation of the integrated units took into consideration the curriculum programme organised for each grade of the Basic primary stage (traditional primary level).

2. New ideological principles underly the selection of knowledge in the areas derived from selected philosophical and psychological principles. Although there is no detailed elaboration of these principles, references and specific enunciates enable us to infer the underlying basis of the new Pedagogic discourse.

3. The notion of integration emphasises the integration of concepts of the areas of knowledge around a theme in the integrated unit. We should note here a possible contradiction between the focus of integration, on the one side, and, on the other, the development of the themes in terms of the correspondence between the specific objectives and the indices of evaluation. This will be an object of further analysis.

4. It is clear that the curriculum programmes and integrated units have been designed for the teacher. They define specific modalities of transmission and suggest others. Although integrated units refer to the importance of the activities of the pupil (who is the reform's centre of concern) it is the teacher who organises such activities for the achievement of the objectives proposed.

Evaluation

Evaluation is crucial to the reform as it enables control of the

processes of innovation and provides the basis for subsequent changes. This is indeed the view of the Pedagogic Agencies. These consider in Lineamientos Generales del Curriculum (1977) that "evaluation will be an instrument for the correction and continuous adjustment of the different elements of the educational process: objectives, contents, activities, units, methodology, teachers' training and motivation of pupils."

The Pedagogic Agencies (PA) state that the fundamental purpose of the educational process is "change of pupils' behaviour according to the ends of the curriculum." The evaluation component contributes to this process by determining whether the objectives proposed in the curricular programmes and integrated units have been achieved. From this perspective, there exists in the curricular programmes and didactic units a close articulation between the specific objectives and the evaluation indicators: for each specific objective there is an index of evaluation.

The functions of the evaluation of pupils' acquisition have been defined by the Pedagogic Agencies. Very briefly, these functions are: (1) to motivate, (2) to classify, (3) to diagnose, (4) to supervise and orient, and (5) to inform parents and to certify. These functions constitute for the teacher the specific and explicit criteria on which he/she must design and orient evaluation.⁹

Besides defining for the teacher the functions of evaluation the

9. A description of the evaluation issues can be found in (MEN, 1979: 141-181). Also, see Como emplear el sistema de evaluation del alumno cuando se aplica la Nueva Programacion Curricular de Educacion Basica Primaria, MEN (1980); and Chavez, N. (1978).

Manual specifies the instruments of evaluation for obtaining data about the achievement of pupils. Following these orientations, the teachers are expected to use observation tests of composition and objective tests. The two latter forms of tests specifically concern the official relations of transmission/acquisition. Teachers must be prepared to evaluate acquisition as defined by the objectives given for the integrated units.

The major change, in relation to the previous forms of evaluation, is the production of a methodology of evaluation based on a correspondence between objectives and indices of evaluation. Thus, for example, given the objective, "To identify the atmospheric phenomena characteristic of the area of the pupil's community", the evaluation will be "Given a list of atmospheric phenomena, the pupil will underline those which regularly are presented in his locality" (MEN, 1979b, Unidades Experimentales Integradas, Unidad III, Tercer grado, p. 3). The integrated units link specific objectives to specific evaluations. They do this by stating explicitly the indicator for each specific objective. Each unit is broken down into a series of specific behavioural objectives which the pupil is expected to have acquired within a specific time. The total mark is the result of adding the marks for each objective the pupil achieves with respect to the total marks possible within a unit or within a block of units.

It is important to note the major accent and emphasis placed upon evaluation. This emphasis is probably the result of the consequence of the expansion of primary education. Evaluation is the counterpoint to the demands of educational expansion; systematic evaluation becomes a regulative element of the selection process of children. In our view, the major function of evaluation within the reform is that of selection

and control. Moreover, evaluation determines specific modalities of pedagogic practice. Thus, by creating or producing the specific forms of evaluation the Pedagogic Agencies control selection and also control the modalities of pedagogic practices.

Perhaps of more importance, systematic evaluation is itself a metaphor for accountability itself a metaphor for the new power relations imbedded in the OPD.

Relations Between School and Community (Parents Project)

Within the context of the new reform, the community is considered to have an important role in the qualitative and quantitative improvement of formal education. This policy is explicitly stated in the official texts. Thus, for example, the Programa Nacional de Mejoramiento cualitativo de la Educacion (1977a) proposed among other objectives "the increasing participation of the community in the direction and realisation of the activities of the educational system", and Decree 1419 integrates in the official notion of curriculum "the community".¹⁰

The practice of this policy is now administered by the Division of non-Formal Education¹¹ responsible for the organisation of specific educational community programmes. These programmes in the view of the

10. Article 3 of Decree 1419 states: "According to the present Decree, the curriculum is to be understood as the set of planned and organised activities in which teachers, pupils and community participate, for the achievement of the goals and ends of education."

11. Concepts about Formal and Non-formal education can be seen in Decree 088/1976 and in Plan de Integracion Nacional (PIN) 1979-1982 (see DNP, 1980).

Pedagogic Agencies, may constitute a valuable support for formal education. As parents are supposed to play an important role in the development of formal education, they must now become objects of educational transformation. This activity is justified as follows: "The conscious development and active participation of parents in the qualitative and quantitative improvement of formal education must be the result of functional educational processes" (MEN, 1979: 184).

One of the programmes developing the relations between school and community is called Proyecto Padres de Familia (Parents' Projects)¹² which presents the curricular elements to be taken into account for the design of the programme to parents. What are the main foundations of this project? Why did the new reform call for extending the social relations of the school to the family? What are the main strategies proposed in the two versions of the project? These questions may be answered in the light of our analysis of the parents' project.

The first point to consider is the extension of the area of control over the community through the integration of the school-community relations into the official discourse. The strategies of justification have become integrated in the policies and decrees which are realised in specific programmes. We may suppose that these are the legal sources of ideological control required for the extension and strengthening of the modalities of symbolic control. The construction of legal instruments provided the Pedagogic Agencies with a frame of action for the restructuring of the school-family relations: "At present the Ministry

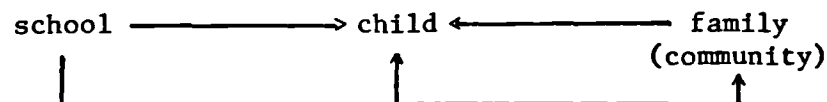
12. See MEN (no date) Proyecto Padres de Familia. La Participacion de los Padres en la Reforma educativa. Also, see initial project in MEN 1979:180-243. We shall be referring to it as the Parents' Project.

of Education has become aware that the education of children is a shared task between family and school. This has given rise to the need to integrate parents into the school's educational process" (MEN, 1979:180).

The assumptions supporting this educational action can be briefly described as follows:

1. Parents do not have a clear idea of the school's educational process, nor how to take part in it;
2. As parents do not understand the new formal curriculum they may reject it;
3. There is inadequate participation of parents in the education of their children and therefore there are difficulties in integrating the school and the community. (MEN, 1979:186)

The strategies towards the parents are organised around the creation of a curriculum for parents with specific objectives, integrated components, and a defined methodology. The objectives call for a new orientation of parents in the education of their children and for a closer relation between school and community. These objectives can be seen as the need to integrate the modalities of control of the school and of the family over the child.¹³



13. Such as "to suggest and to elaborate alternatives for the education of children" or "to develop the integral attention to children, especially through the family." See "Parents' Project" and MEN (1979:187-188). Also, see (DNP) (1980).

The contents of the project are supposed to be developed around pedagogic action on children. The contents are organised in five features which, according to the Pedagogic Agencies, integrate the educational context. These features are: school problems; psychology and communication; health and nutrition; family and the individual and family legislation. According to the Pedagogic Agencies, all components must be treated in an integrated form.

The methodology entails a set of strategies to follow with parents in the development of the objectives and contents of the project. It also calls for material resources and a set of qualified agents (technicians, educational supervisors and teachers) who are responsible for the project.

It is possible to see in the component "school problems" an important means for influencing parents' attitude towards school and especially towards their acceptance of "means" and "ends" used by the school to transmit the new educational discourse.¹⁴ From this perspective, we could argue that, by controlling parents' attitude towards school and its projects, there should be a strengthening of the consensus and legitimation of the curricular reform. This is the reason for the opening of the school to the community and for its direction to the central coordination of the project by the "Division of design and curricular programming of non-formal education". The features "psychology and communication" and "family and individual" attempt to create within the family new patterns of social relations through

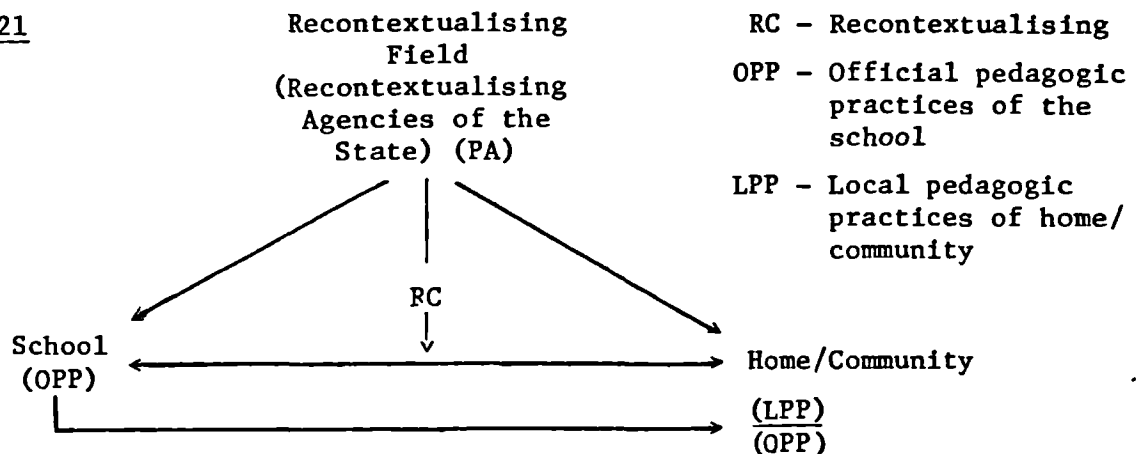
14. The objectives and contents of the feature "school problems" make clearly explicit the need to explain the educational Reform, the school's administration, the school's legislation and didactics.

information to parents about the desired communicative, affective and family orientation to children, and through information to the family about the role of work both within and outside of the family.

It seems to us that this initiative in instructing parents - as a re-educative and controlled action by Pedagogic Agencies - attempts to generate new modalities of control and a new system of practices within the family, both with respect to school and also with respect to work. By creating closer relations between the school and the family-community the family becomes "an open text to be read" or a more open space for the school to penetrate. This may result in a more imbedded control of the activities performed by the school (together with other agencies of symbolic control) in relation to the family. This, in turn, makes possible greater control over the child and the family itself. From this new perspective, we consider that the official pedagogic practices of the school attempt to penetrate the local pedagogic practices of the family. That is, there is a new attempt to transform local pedagogic practices of the family.

These new relations can be schematised as follows (Figure 21):¹⁵

Figure 21



15. See our discussion, Part One, Chapter Seven.

We have stressed the main features of this project as it constitutes a major source of change in the traditional social relations between the school and the community, and it provides elements for the analysis of changes in teachers' attitude towards parents and community, in parents' attitude towards school and in the new modalities of control of pupils. The reaction against this new modality of control may be seen first in the teachers. Some teachers have warned about "the abuse which parents could make if they were allowed to intervene in the academic affairs of the school" (Mora, 1981).

The Role of the Teacher (the Pedagogic Subject)

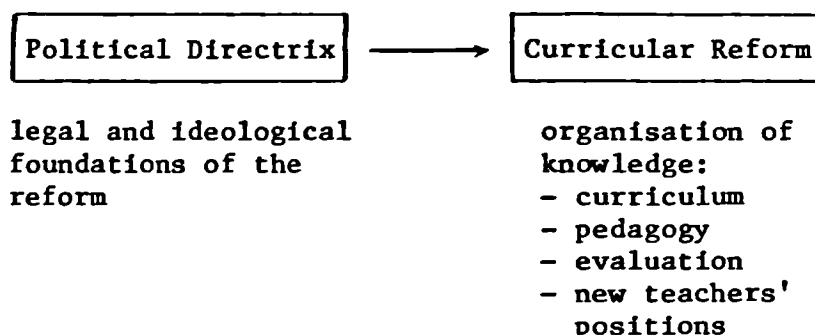
In this section we will present those features of the educational reform which affect the construction of pedagogic subjects. We have said that besides determining the organisation of school, the Pedagogic Agencies, by structuring educational knowledge, also shape (at least in the discourse) the desired positions of pedagogic subjects, which has implications for pedagogic practices. Here, our interest centres on the discursive construction of teachers by the Pedagogic Agencies of the State.

Some features of the curriculum Reform entail the need to produce changes in the positioning of the teachers' role. These features are:

- a. the organisation of knowledge in the curriculum;
- b. the definition of the curriculum as open;
- c. the integration of the activities of teachers, pupils and community;
- d. the demand for the integration of teachers in national development;¹⁶

16. See Parra, R. (1979).

- e. the production of new curricula with new pedagogic modalities for transmission.



These features may be considered closely related to the new objectives of the different levels of the educational system given by the Political Directrix. The Reform creates a set of demands on the teacher which can be called the "regime of pedagogic practices". These are concerned with what has been called "the administration of technical-pedagogic features" (MEN, 1979:21).¹⁷ This notion refers to "the selection, organisation, evaluation and adjustment of experiences ... through which the teacher organises the didactic process." As we can see, this notion focuses on the control the teacher must exercise in order to "structure the learning of children" (MEN, 1979:1b).

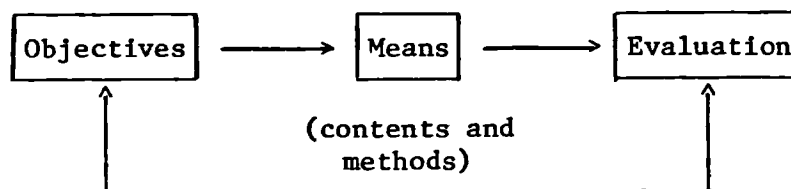
The positions of pedagogic subjects in the practice of the teaching are specified by the Pedagogic Agencies as follows:

1. to organise the teaching programme;
2. to organise the teaching situation;
3. to determine time and resources available for teaching;

17. These technical pedagogic features have also been objects of the curriculum programmes and teaching practice in the Normal schools, as can be seen in the "Lineamientos Generales para los programas de asignaturas pedagógicas y práctica docente".

4. to determine methodology;
5. to establish the objectives for pupils in the process of teaching (this is the focal point of a well planned activity, according to the Pedagogic Agencies);
6. to prepare and organise the materials and educational aids;
7. to test continuously to see whether objectives are being achieved and where necessary to make modifications in the teaching. (Translated from MEN, 1979:22-23)

This form of institutional control may be defined as a pre-given scheme of pedagogic practices based on a specific model of the form:

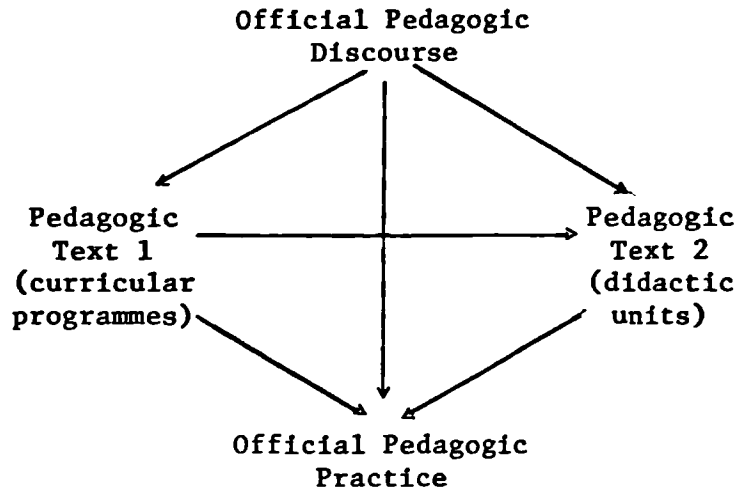


where there must exist a close relation between the objectives and the evaluation of the objectives achieved in terms of specific behaviours. Thus, if pupils are expected to behave according to a set of pre-established objectives, teachers are expected to perform their tasks according to the models established in the pedagogic texts.

There is a crucial contradiction between the apparent discretion of the teacher as this appears in the above regulations and the extensive and detailed control over all aspects of pedagogic practice which is explicit in the curriculum programme and in the didactic units. However, the Pedagogic Agencies continue to refer to the responsibilities of the teacher but state what is to be learned, appropriate methods and materials and the evaluation of learning (MEN, 1979).

The following diagram (Figure 22) sets out the above relationships:

Figure 22



The pedagogic texts (1 and 2) guide, control and regulate the instructional practices by stating in a more-or-less specific way what is to be taught, the modalities of transmission and the forms of evaluation.

The strongest form of control arises out of assigning to pedagogic subjects (teachers) the task of "parcelling" the integrated units. The teachers must arrange units so as to rationalise their teaching according to the explicit time given over to each unit. The criteria for "parcelling" the units have been made explicit by the Pedagogic Agencies. Here, time becomes a very important principle of control over teachers' activity. It constrains transmission and acquisition in the sense that all the objectives specified in the integrated units and reorganised in the "parcelling" must be realised in a given period of time.

However, the new regulations of the reform emphasise the importance of a teacher-pupil relation which is child-centred (Decree 1419, Article 4). According to this definition, "the organisation, direction, functioning, control and evaluation of all the elements entailed in the educational process must always encourage and orient pupils' learning"

(MEN, 1979:21). This notion of child-centred organisation of the educational process fits with the curriculum notion established by decree: "the planned and organised set of activities, in which pupils, teachers and community participate for the achievement of the goals and objectives of the Colombian education" (Decree 1419, Article 2), but we consider this is in contradiction with the explicit principles set out in the Curricular programmes and Integrated units. We will later analyse in more detail these internal contradictions in the Official Pedagogic Discourse.

From this perspective it is important to give examples of the principles of learning underlying the new orientation of the Pedagogic discourse. These principles illustrate the pedagogic ideology of the Pedagogic Agencies. Very briefly, these principles are:

1. Learning is achieved through objectives.
2. School influences learning. As a well adapted pupil is the product of acts of learning, then the only condition for learning is the capacity for learning.
3. Learning is a direct function of a received stimulus. Thus, whenever a pupil is impelled to act, efficient motivations appear.
4. Every learning situation requires the pupil to be motivated.
5. Pupils learn only if there is a good leader orienting learning, and there will be effective learning only if pupils participate in the learning and if guided by the teacher in all school activities.
6. There is learning only if there is reflexive activity. Pupils will learn only if there is an internalisation of experience.
7. There is no learning if there is no comprehension of what is learned.
8. Pupils should adapt to situations by reflecting upon what is expected of them. (This relates to Piaget's concepts of "assimilation" and "accommodation".)

9. Learning is an integrated activity. Pupils in performing an activity must learn the cognitive message, but also must acquire abilities, habits, skills which the application of knowledge requires.
10. Learning must be evaluated in order to obtain feedback.

(Translated from MEN, 1979:60-62)

The new definition of the teacher's function focuses upon a number of specific practices both instructional and regulative. It is important to note that these new practices must be realised within the terms of the prescribed curriculum. The main practice assigned to the teacher is that of the organiser of pupils learning, guiding all situations in which learning is expected. In this sense, teachers are expected to act as facilitators of learning by organising the process of learning according to the prescribed curriculum: "The teachers' responsibility is to structure experiences leading to the motivation and stimulation of pupil's learning ... teacher orienting learning must create a range of activities" (MEN, 1979:66).

We will try to specify the new instructional and regulative positions assigned to pedagogic subjects within the strategies designed by the Pedagogic Agencies. Innovations in the instructional positions of teachers can be characterised by the institutional definitions of pupils active participation in the learning activity. Thus, pupil-centred¹⁸ instructional practice of teachers requires that the objectives be formulated according to the needs of the pupils; at the same time, teachers must organise the programme with a clear knowledge of the theme they are to teach, of the different ways of organising pupils, of the resources and methodologies to use, of the complementary activities, and

18. Decree 1419 establishes that "the educational process must be a child-centred process in order for the child to develop harmoniously and integrated as a person."

of the principles of evaluation (MEN, 1979:38). Pupils should participate in the organisation of their activities in order that their aptitudes, interests and initiative can contribute to their learning. Variations are proposed in the organisation of teaching groups (individual work, paired work, small groups' work and collective work).

The definition of the new positions of teachers in instructional practices is clearly concerned with the establishing of a new form of social relation which could be defined as "oriented learning". This refers to the set of activities or practices relating to the formation, development and structuring of pupils' behaviour in the teaching-learning process as organised by the teacher in accordance with the curricular programmes and the didactic units.

We think that, from this perspective (oriented learning), teachers are expected:

1. To realise pedagogic practices (instructional and regulative) which orient pupils to learn according to their interests but in terms of a prescribed curriculum;
2. To emphasise the process but also the content of learning (as can be seen in the curricular programmes and didactic units), but to allow pupils some freedom in the choosing of certain activities;
3. To organise a variety of educational materials in order to promote a more active climate in the classroom (gardens, playground, and the different spaces of the school);
4. To act as an organiser, facilitator and guide and to encourage pupils to work in learning groups;

5. To give pupils some responsibility for realising their own learning but always under the supervision and orientation of teachers.

The new orientation of the organisation of instructional practices is supposed to bring a certain degree of flexibility to the pedagogic relation, that is, to the organisation of what Pedagogic Agencies call "school discipline". Discipline is understood as the result of school activity pedagogically organised by the teacher. It is expected that the attitudes of teachers towards pupils be those of acceptance, trust and encouragement.

In this respect, teachers are expected to transform their traditional authoritarian relationship into a more flexible relationship with pupils involving a greater acceptance of a more pupil-centred activity and a greater acceptance of the pupil's learning needs. The new notion of discipline requires the teacher:

1. To achieve a stable and familiar climate for pupils to live as individuals in a group;
2. To achieve objectives with respect to the pupil's needs;
3. To promote a climate free of repression and punishment but in which respect for others is the only discipline to be accepted by the group;
4. To introduce a range of variations within the teaching group, from individual to collective work;
5. To act as a group leader. (MEN, 1979:67-68)

We have now described the programmes, didactic units, procedures of evaluation, new relations between the family and school, the

positioning of teachers and pupils within pedagogic practice, all in considerable detail. The description we have made can be considered to provide the textual data for the texting and application of our model. In essence, we have given at some length the official contents, contexts and legitimations for Pedagogic discourse and we hope that our model will expose its underlying ordering principles and their internal contradictions. It should be clear that our description is both a function of that model and evidence for the analysis which the model generates. This raises the issue of the selective character of our description. There is no way in which we can escape from this charge. However, we have tried, as far as consonant with the space available to us, to give extensive quotations and references for the features of our description.

The controlling principle of our description selects and focuses upon the distribution of power and the principles of control at work in the construction of OPD. From this perspective, the controlling principle of our description is the controlling principle of our model. This, at one level, indicates a circularity. However, the model does more than generate principles for a specific description. It should give the underlying rules for what is described and so uncover or reveal realities which are masked or obscured by the surface level of what is described. These new realities are hypotheses which go beyond the particular description of a particular referent and so point to new sets of relations between new referents. In this way the model can be considered as a means of description and syntax for the generation of new realities.

Bibliography

Apple, M. (1982) "Curricular Form and the Logic of Technical Control" in Apple, M. (ed.) (1982), Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Chavez, N.P. et al. (1978) La Orientacion en el Proceso Enseñanza-Aprendizaje. Division de Diseño y Programación Curricular de Educación Formal, Bogotá. Ministerio de Educación Nacional.

Departamento Nacional de Planeación, DNP (1975) Para Cerrar la Brecha. Plan de Desarrollo Social, Económico y Regional 1975-1978, Bogotá: Ediciones del Banco de la República.

Departamento Nacional de Planeación, DNP (1980) Plan de Integración Nacional 1979-1982, Bogotá: Industrial Continental Gráfica.

Grignon, C. (1971) L'Ordre des Choses: les Fonctions Sociales de l'Enseignement Technique, Paris: Minuit.

Ministerio de Educación Nacional, MEN (1976) "Política Educativa Nacional, Reforma Educativa 1976", Serie del Educador, No. 5.

Ministerio de Educación Nacional, MEN (1977) Lineamientos Generales del Currículo. Dirección General de Capacitación y Perfeccionamiento Docente, Currículo y Medios Educativos, Bogotá.

Ministerio de Educación Nacional, MEN (1977a) Programa Nacional de Mejoramiento Cualitativo. Dirección General de Capacitación y Perfeccionamiento Docente, Currículo y Medios Educativos, Bogotá.

Ministerio de Educación Nacional, MEN (1979) Manual de Administración Curricular, Educación Básica Primaria. Dirección General de Capacitación y Perfeccionamiento Docente, Currículo y Medios Educativos, Bogotá.

Ministerio de Educación Nacional, MEN (1979a) Síntesis del Proceso de Diseño y Programación Curriculares, Bogotá.

Ministerio de Educación Nacional, MEN (1979b) Unidades Integradas Experimentales. Tercer Grado, Educación Básica Primaria. Dirección General de Capacitación y Perfeccionamiento Docente, Currículo y Medios Educativos, Bogotá.

Ministerio de Educación Nacional, MEN (1980) Como emplear el Sistema de Evaluación del Alumno cuando se aplica la Nueva Programación Curricular de Educación Básica Primaria, Bogotá.

Ministerio de Educación Nacional, MEN (no date) Lineamientos Generales del Currículo Colombiano. Dirección General de Capacitación y Perfeccionamiento Docente, Currículo y Medios Educativos, Bogotá.

Ministerio de Educación Nacional, MEN (no date) Proyecto Padres de Familia, La Participación de los Padres en la Reforma Educativa. Dirección General de Capacitación y Perfeccionamiento Docente, Currículo y Medios Educativos

Mora, J.O. (1981) Características Curriculares de Programas de Educación Primaria en Colombia, Bogotá, Mimeografiado.

Parra, S. (1979) La Profesión del Maestro y el Desarrollo Nacional Proyecto "Desarrollo y Educación en América Latina y El Caribe", MEN, CIUP, UPN, UNESCO, CEPAL, PNUD. (Mimeografiado)

Universidad Pedagógica Nacional, UPN (1976) Documentación Educativa, Vol. 3, No. 9.

Leyes (Laws)

Ley 43 de 1975, por la cual se reorganiza la educación primaria y secundaria.. y se dictan otras disposiciones. (Law 43 of 1975 which reorganises primary and secondary education and issues other regulations.)

Decretos (Decrees)

Decreto 088 de 1976, por el cual se re-estructura el sistema educativo y se reorganiza el Ministerio de Educación Nacional. (Decree 088 of 1976 which re-structures the educational system and re-organises the Ministry of Education.)

Decreto 089 de 1976, por el cual se re-estructura el Instituto Colombiano para el Fomento de la Educación Superior, ICFES y se dictan otras disposiciones. (Decree 089 of 1976 that re-structures the ICFES and issues other regulations.)

Decreto 1419 de 1978, por el cual se señalan las normas y las orientaciones básicas para la administración curricular en los niveles de educación pre-escolar, básica (primaria y secundaria) media vocacional e intermedia profesional. (Decree 1419 of 1978 which indicates the norms and basic regulations for the administration of the curriculum at the pre-school, Basic (primary and secondary) Middle Vocational and Intermediate levels of education.)

Decreto 1816 de 1978, por el cual se regula las escuelas experimentales - Centros Experimentales Pilotos. (Decree 1816 of 1978 concerning experimental schools and experimental centres (Pilots Schools).)

CHAPTER TWELVE

THEORETICAL APPRAISAL

Introduction

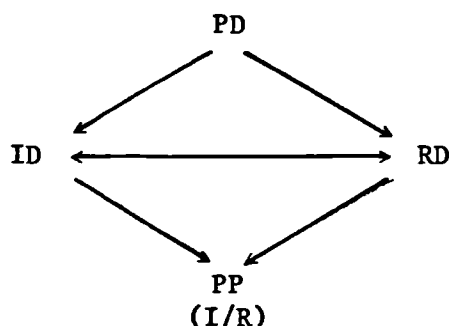
In this chapter we shall transform the crucial features of our description into the language of our model. Although our description has been bounded and focused because of the perspective underlying the model, that is, the realisation of power and control in Pedagogic discourse, we believe that the crucial features of our description would be crucial for any understanding of the Reforms. Our model provides a grammar which can generate a range of descriptions of modalities of reproduction. Here in this chapter we shall apply the rules of its grammar to generate a specific description of the events of the Reforms and to generate new relations leading to redescriptions. These new relations will take the form of contradictions within the discourse of the Reform which are the expression in the discourse of the tensions between order and development, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, external dependencies.

General Formulations of the Contradictions within PD

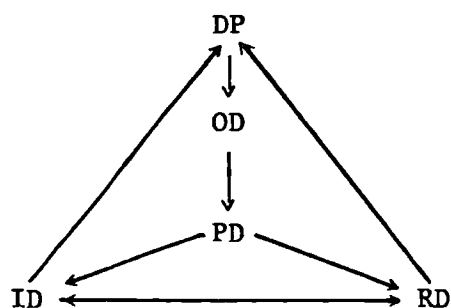
We have assumed in our theoretical model that Pedagogic discourse can be understood in terms of the inter-relations between two specialised discourses: instructional and regulative.¹ Although these are elements of the same theoretical unit, Pedagogic discourse, each one can be

1. This formulation is basic to the definition developed by Bernstein on Pedagogic discourse (Bernstein, Seminars).

defined by its relations to the other and in terms of the regulation of specific pedagogic practices (PP) in the context of reproduction.²

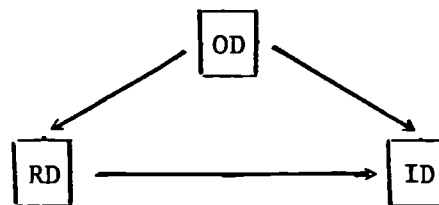


In the same way, we have considered that the conditions for the reproduction/transformation of Pedagogic discourse, and of the categories, practices and sites it regulates can be analysed by reference to the changes and variations in the principles intrinsic to the two specialised discourses: instructional and regulative. In turn, the variations or changes of these principles can be referred to the variations in the power and control relations inherent in the dominant principles (PD) and realised in the category official discourse (OD). These relations can be schematised as follows:



2. The reason for considering these discourses as separate is solely methodological.

We consider that in a strongly centralised educational system as is the case in Colombia, Pedagogic discourse has traditionally been dominated by Official discourse whose determinations have affected the principles, rules and relations intrinsic to instructional discourse and regulative discourse and the relations of these discourses to each other.



We can summarise the theoretical assumptions implicit in the above scheme as follows:

1. Official discourse is (may be) considered as the expression (realisation) of the dominant principles of the State made public.
2. RD is a means of reproduction of the moral and social order of the school and is derived from Official discourse. RD reproduces in school the dominant official order of the Colombian society.
3. Instructional discourse is a means of the reproduction of specialised competences and their temporal relation to each other in the sites of their location. In the Colombian context, ID is dependent upon specific official regulations and their dominant regulative order.

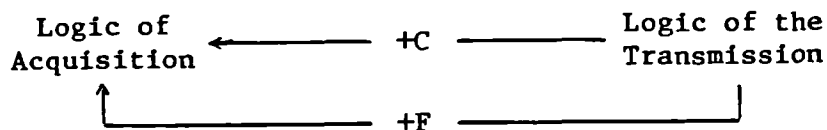
Here we shall explore the underlying principles which have regulated the pedagogic changes (reforms) of the Colombian primary school in the periods discussed in the preceding section. Our analysis will reveal contradictions within Pedagogic discourse both within ID and

and between ID and RD whose origins we shall trace to the power relations regulating the official discourse of the State.

We will first outline the model of the analysis which we will apply to the proposals of the 1963 and 1976 reforms.

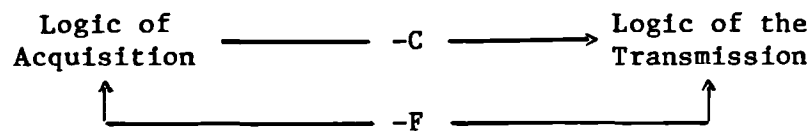
In order to explicate the contradictions between instructional discourse and regulative discourse we will present the basic premises which will serve to clarify our future discussion. These premises may be considered as an extension of the theoretical model presented in the first part of the thesis.

In every context of educational reproduction/transmission we can distinguish within instructional discourse between the logic of acquisition (LA)³ and the logic of the transmission (LT) (terms suggested by Bernstein). If the relations between the logic of acquisition (LA) and the logic of the transmission (LT) are regulated by a strong classification (+C) there will be a subordination of the acquirer to the demands of the explicit hierarchical regulations of the progression of the discourse (strong selection, strong sequence, strong pacing and explicit criteria of evaluation). Here, the logic of acquisition is subordinated to the logic of the transmission which is realised by a strong framing (+F).

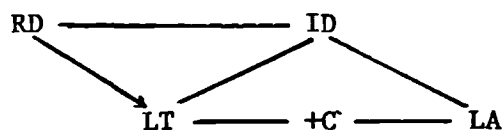


-
3. By the logic of acquisition we refer to the implicit and explicit theories of the development or progression of the acquirer in the self regulation of his/her own learning. If we focus on the logic of acquisition we are considering acquisition from the perspective the acquirer brings to his/her acquisition. If we focus on the logic of transmission, we are privileging the social relations and discursive rules regulating the what and how of acquisition from the perspective of the transmitter.

When the relations between the logic of acquisition and the logic of the transmission are regulated by a weak classification (-C) then the LT becomes more dependent on the individual differences, capacities, interests and activities of the acquirer, and the progression of the discourse becomes subordinated to the logic of acquisition (LA). Here the logic of the transmission presupposes a weak framing (-F).



We hypothesise that in Colombia, where there exists a strong classification (+C) between the logic of acquisition and the logic of the transmission, the organisation of the progression of the discourse becomes more independent of the principles intrinsic to instructional discourse (ID) and more dependent on the principles, rules and relations of regulative discourse (RD).



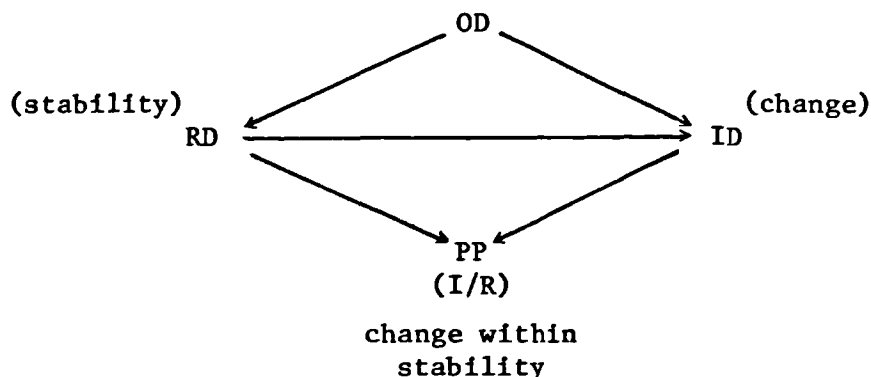
The need to fit the logic of acquisition to the demands of the progression of the discourse (LT) in the different levels of the educational system (fundamentally at the primary level and partially at the secondary level), has determined the selection of theories of instruction which can coexist within the hierarchical regulations of official regulative discourse. Such theories of instruction have been derived from behaviouristic theories of transmission privileging the stimulus.

We hope to show that it is the hierarchical principles of official regulative discourse that controls the selection of a theory of instruction which places importance upon behaviouristic theories of transmission, especially at the primary level. This theory positions the logic of acquisition in the logic of transmission, despite the apparent (and rhetorical) emphasis on principles celebrating the importance of the acquirer.

There has always been an intimate association between official regulative discourse, and the Catholic Church which has defined the ordering of the social relations of the school. Although the general principles of regulative discourse have undergone little change throughout the period of our concern there have been attempts to change the principles of instructional discourse in order to bring a closer correspondence between the output of the school and the requirements of economic development.

In the same way, there has been an attempt to make instructional discourse more specialised. However, there has been no change in the principles of relation between instructional discourse and regulative discourse. ID is subordinated to RD.

The decrees of the State regulating pedagogic change whilst maintaining stability in regulative discourse initiated changes in instructional discourse. We will attempt to show that the stability in regulative discourse and the changes in instructional discourse are the source of contradictions implicit in the reforms. This hypothesis can be schematised as follows:



We shall now consider, first at a theoretical level, and second at a substantive level the contradictions between the instructional discourse and regulative discourse of the Reforms.

1. The strong classification (+C) between the logic of the transmission (LT) and the logic of acquisition (LA) is a consequence of requirements of the regulative discourse to legitimate and reproduce an explicit hierarchical form of social stratification independent of the theory of instruction which informs instructional discourse and its social context of transmission/acquisition.

We have shown that the evolution of instructional discourse in Colombia has been the product of continuous foreign interventions⁴

-
4. Foreign influence has been felt since the colonial period. During the 19th century with the administration of Bolivar and Santander, the Lancaster system was introduced in the country. Between 1860-1882 the first German mission came to the country to promote and to put into practice the Pestalozzian Method. In 1924 the second German mission came to the country and in 1925 Ovidio Decroly gave some lectures and his method the "Centres of Interest", or globalised teaching, was introduced to the country. Since 1950, it is possible to observe the marked influence of the US through different kinds of missions. We can observe two main influences on the Colombian Pedagogic discourse, the marked European influence during the first part of the century and the US influence during the second half of the century, because this is the period in which "universalisation" and "democratisation" of education became the fundamental policy of the State in order to fit with the demands of economic development and to raise the level of the

.../cont'd

which reflect the political, economic and cultural dependences of the country upon international demands. Since the fifties it is possible to see the strong USA influence upon the Colombian educational system, through different missions, programmes and projects, such as the "Oficina Administrativa de programas educativos conjuntos" (OAPEC), Peace Corps, Alliance for Progress, INEM Programmes, Technology of Education and others. Plans and programmes have been, especially since this period, the result of international interest. At a general level, we can say that increasingly from the fifties the principles of instructional discourse were imported from the USA in order to "rationalise" economic development.

2. There is no fundamental contradiction between the social relations implicit in the behaviouristic theory of transmission of instructional discourse and the explicit hierarchical principles of the regulative discourse. However, there is a contradiction between:
 - a. the behaviouristic theory of transmission and the developmental theory which informs the theory of acquisition;
 - b. the hierarchical principles of regulative discourse and the social relations implicit and explicit in the developmental theories of acquisition.

The dependence of instructional discourse on the principles of

4. cont'd

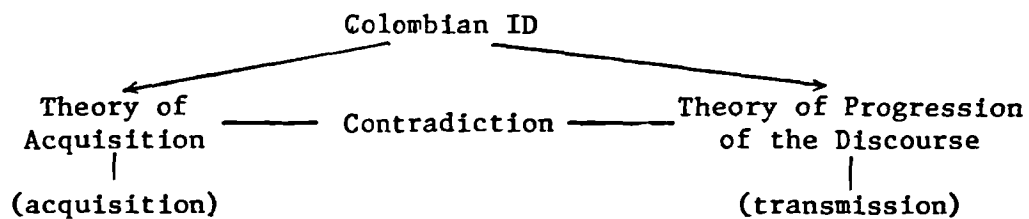
literacy of the population. This does not mean that the previous pedagogic tradition had been abolished. Linked to this tradition is the strong control by the government. Pedagogic change is to some extent a very slow process. We hope in the future to make a more detailed study of its history. (See Casallas, 1956; Lebot, 1972; Arevalo, 1964.)

regulative discourse presupposes an increasing power relation of RD over ID. This means that Colombian ID is fundamentally dependent on the principles of organisation of the categories, practices and sites controlled by regulative discourse. Although there has been a great change in the Pedagogic Agencies of the State,⁵ the State, as we saw, retains relatively high levels of control over their discourses and recontextualising practices. Thus, in this crucial area there is minimal autonomy accorded to Pedagogic Agencies.

In the following pages we will carry out in detail a substantive analysis of the contradictions implicit in the Colombian Reform of instructional and regulative discourse.

Contradictions in Instructional Discourse (ID)

Here, we will explore the problems of the contradictions of transmission created by the conjunction of the theory of acquisition (theories of learning) and the theories of the progression and evaluation of the discourse. The principles of the progression of the discourse are made explicit (as we have seen in the preceding part) in the official pedagogic texts (programmes, didactic guides and didactic units).



-
5. A comparison between the 1963 and the 1976 Reforms of the Ministry of education shows the modernisation and specialisation of its agencies, parallel to the increasing influence of international agencies. The 1976 Reform centralises in one direction the control on the organisation of knowledge, training of teachers, evaluation, educational information. (See Appendix Four.) Also see Jaramillo, U. (1980).

We shall now provide evidence from the official regulations which defines the logic of acquisition inherent in the reforms.

The general framework which characterises what we may call the theory of acquisition, inherent in the reforms, rests on a basic premise: "Learning is realised through the active behaviour of pupils." This is a fundamental premise. Acquirers are not passive objects but "are agents in their own learning."

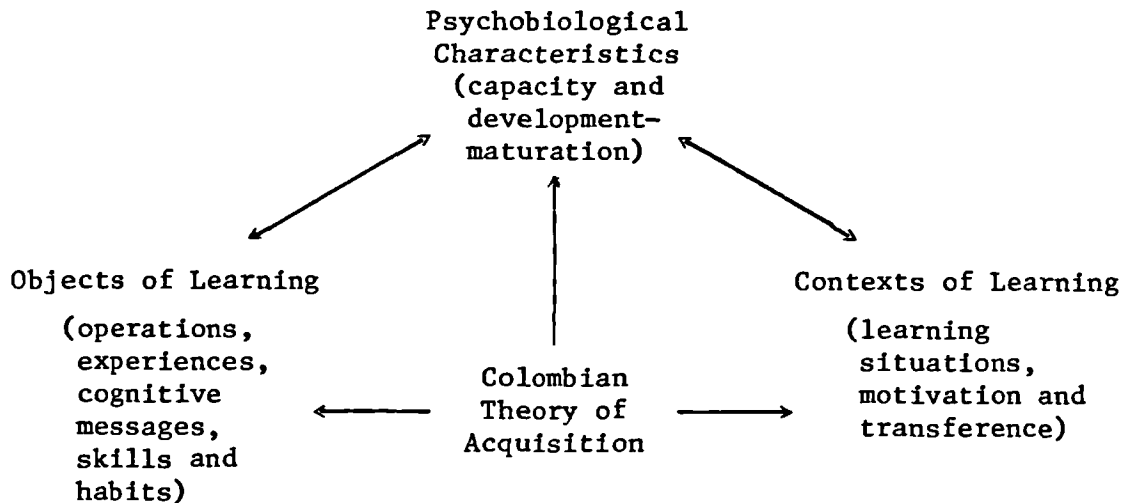
In examining the principles of acquisition, which according to the State Pedagogic Agencies must be taken into consideration in the transmission/acquisition process, we find the following general characteristics: (these principles were adumbrated in the preceding chapter)⁶

1. Learning is a process in which the acquirer must have greater immediate control over his/her acquisition.
2. Learning presupposes conditions of learning which can be referred to:
 - a. the psychobiological characteristics of the acquirer (capacity, development and maturation);
 - b. the contexts of learning (learning situations, motivation and transference);
 - c. the objects of learning (operations, experiences, cognitive messages, abilities, habits and skills).
3. Learning is the product of the interest and of the capacity for learning. According to these characteristics, the curriculum

6. We can see here a contradiction between a progressive consideration of acquisition and the use of a model of instruction developed by Tyler (1950).

must respect the psychobiological development of the pupil, and offer the best physical and social conditions for learning. At the same time, the contents to be learned must be appropriate to the age and interest of the acquirer.

The characteristics of the theory of acquisition which are inherent in the Colombian ID imply that the learning of pupils depends fundamentally on their psychobiological development (maturation and capacity for learning). The characteristics of the theory of acquisition may be schematised in the following form:



If, as these Pedagogic Agencies assume, the development of acquisition is fundamentally dependent on the capacity, maturation and interests of the acquirer, and if the acquisition is more fruitful when the pupil is "the direct protagonist of the learning experiences", it is to be expected that acquisition becomes more differentiated, more dependent on the progressive development of the intellectual structures of pupils, and more organised with respect to individual progress and interest.

This view of acquisition presupposes a theory of instruction

where transmission/acquisition is fundamentally marked by weak classification and weak framing (-C -F). Instructional experiences will be more the result of the psychological development of the child rather than a consequence of hierarchical imposition of social realisations and discourse. From this perspective, the new organisation of instruction realised by the PA appears to be flexible, "to respond to the rhythm of comprehension and learning of pupils ... and to their psychological development" (MEN, 1979:60). It encourages spontaneous activity based on personal needs and interests⁷ as this facilitates intellectual development: "the success of the educational process consists in the fact that the pupil makes his/her own school activities, acquires experiences and principles and copes by himself/herself with new situations" (MEN, 1979:60).

Summing up, then, we can say that the official goals, at least in their public texts, support a theory of instruction that gives recognition to:

- a. the psychobiological development of the child;
- b. the fact that the child develops his/her own experiences and regulates his/her learning activities (see footnote 7);
- c. individual interest through which pupils interact and learn.

The logic of acquisition implicit in these assumptions assigns fundamental importance to child-regulated practices. This theory of instruction should have specific implications for the development of pedagogic practices, which, in turn, should be regulated by weak

7. "Learning through interest and through effective activity provokes in the pupil a natural desire to learn Modern education requires that the pupil: participates in activities, learns operational attitudes, faces new situations, transfers learning, and acquires new experiences" (MEN, 1979:62).

framing (-F) and weak classification (-C).

However, as we said in the beginning, there exists a fundamental contradiction between the code of transmission presupposed by a theory of instruction which regulates acquisition and the code of transmission regulating the specific progression of the discourse. For at this level (progression of the discourse) the transmission is not based on considerations of the pupil's development but on explicit and specific rules regulating the transmission and evaluation of the discourse (curriculum programmes, didactic guides and integrated units).

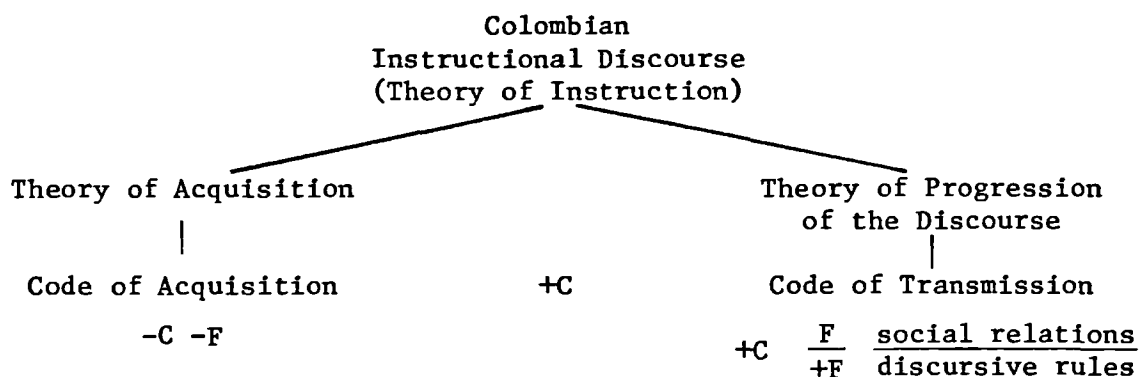
The progression of the discourse is marked by strong classification of the selection of knowledge in the curriculum,⁸ by strong classification of the definition of objectives and by strong framing of the rules of transmission (selection, sequencing/pacing and criteria). If we regard, for example, the objectives, we clearly see that they specify unambiguously the particular behaviour the pupil has to acquire, objectives are pre-determined and a strong warning is given not to modify them in any way. To give only one case, the set of integrated units for the third grade of Basic Primary Education shows the differentiation of objectives: Unit 1: 34; Unit 2: 36; Unit 3: 32; Unit 4: 32; Unit 5: 33; Unit 6: 23; Unit 7: 43; Unit 8: 44; for a total of 277 specific objectives for the whole course.⁹ In the view of the Pedagogic

-
8. We have commented upon the PA's explicit criteria for the selection of the areas of knowledge and for the supposed integration of the contents within and between areas. However, as objectives are the fundamental basis for the organisation of knowledge, then the notion of integration becomes irrelevant for the definition of the code of transmission.
 9. Although the integrated units are supposed to foster learning experiences in the sense of providing a basis for the "interaction between the learner and his/her environment", in fact, the integrated units constitute an explicit organisation of the whole set of experiences through which the behaviour of the pupil is modified. The case of the integrated units is a clear example of the

.../cont'd

Agencies, these objectives specify the "observable behaviour the pupil has to show to indicate successful learning."

While the theory of acquisition presupposes that pupils have relative freedom in the selection of learning experiences and in the progression of their learning, the progression of the discourse remains almost entirely under the teacher's control (strong framing), (there is some weak framing of the hierarchical principles between teacher and taught). This crucial relations may be formulated in the following way:



We are suggesting that the theory of the logic of acquisition does not affect the discursive rules of the transmission but has a limited effect upon the social relations. This differences in the framing of the social relations and of the discursive rules has a crucial implication.

There is first a contradiction arising out of the pacing of the instructional practice and the more elaborated modality of communication

9. cont'd

subordination of the logic of acquisition to the selection, sequencing, pacing and criteria of the logic of the transmission. Interest and integrated learning are subordinated to organised transmission and atomised acquisition.

required by the expected change in the social relations between teachers and pupils. This new modality of communication calls for inter-personal rather than inter-positional/imperative control strategies. Positional strategies generally but not always are realised through simple prescriptions/proscriptions and are economic both in time and space. Inter-personal strategies tend to be realised through more elaborated, more negotiated communication, and therefore to be effective requires both more time and space. We are now in a position to see the contradiction between the temporal dimension of the discursive rules (strong pacing) and the temporal dimension of the social relations. Both the teacher and child are caught in this temporal contradiction. We believe that there cannot be a fundamental organic contradiction between the ordering rules of the social relations and the discursive rules. Where there is strong evaluation of the discursive rules of transmission then we would hypothesise that those rules will dominate the rules of order and the framing features will all be strong. From this point of view there is no major change in the practice, only in the potential tensions it may create.

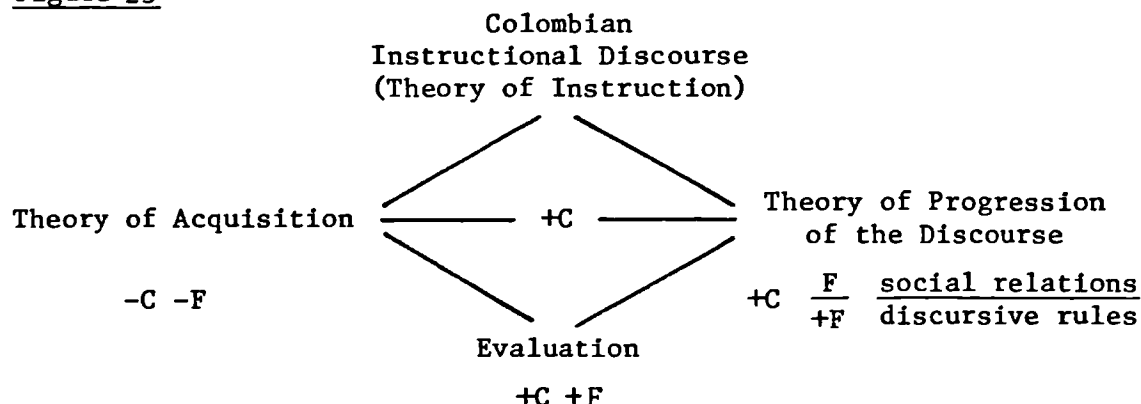
The less strong framing of the social relations between teacher and taught may be an effect of the developmental view of the learner who - as we have seen - is defined as an active acquirer. Communication between pupils and the teacher and also between pupils is expected to be flexible. However, the strong classification maintained over the development of the objectives and the strong framing of the direction of learning, can be explicitly seen in the didactic guides and in the didactic units.

The contradictions between the code of transmission and the code of acquisition underlying the theory of instruction is made more explicit

in the rules of evaluation. There are (especially in the proposals of the 1976 Reform) explicit criteria and specific measurement procedures for the evaluation of pupils. The strong classification of the objectives which determine the body of knowledge to be mastered by pupils, and the observable behaviours the pupils are expected to show to indicate successful learning (MEN, 1979:22) creates explicit evaluation criteria. Such evaluation is a crucial classificatory device both of pupils and of teachers.

We can summarise the contradictions in the codes of transmission/acquisition created by the theory of instruction underlying the pedagogic reforms during the second half of the present century in the following diagram (Figure 23):

Figure 23



We have said that the official theory of instruction privileges a developmental theory which places emphasis upon the child's capacity to learn, upon the reflexive activity of the acquirer and upon the necessity of the child to comprehend what is learned. This acceptance of the concept of the child as active necessarily excludes a linear process of acquisition; that is, it should make the logic of acquisition less regulated by explicit public control. However, official pedagogic practice - as indexed by the pedagogic texts (didactic units,

didactic guides, curriculum programmes) - calls for a linear process, through the prescription of objectives, and through the organisation of sequenced contents given in the didactic units and guides.

The logic of the linear process

We are able to expose the logic of this linear process by giving the framing of the discursive rules of the transmission:

Selection: The teacher is controlled by a prior selection of objectives, prior selection of contents, prior selection of methods and prior selection of the mode of evaluation. Pupils have some degree of participation in the selection of activities especially those considered as "complementary". But, the selection of objectives, contents, methods and modalities of evaluation are regulated by a strong framing, (+F).

Sequencing: The regulation of the "temporal ordering of the content" is clearly provided by the didactic units and parcelling. The teacher is regulated by prior sequencing but the parcelling is under his control. Thus, sequencing is also regulated by strong framing, (+F).

Pacing: The parcelling distributes contents in time and therefore regulates the rate of acquisition and therefore pacing. For example, in any one unit there may be a number of objectives to be achieved in a given time period. As we have seen the teacher has some freedom to control how these objectives are distributed in time, but the teacher can neither control the time available for a unit nor the number of objectives to be realised by the pupils. The macro features of pacing are given by Pedagogic Agencies. The teacher has some control over the micro features. A situation can arise where a teacher

prepares a fictitious parcelling principle which is never realised in the classroom practice. As a consequence some pupils in some classes may not be given the opportunity to acquire the full range of objectives required for a given unit, or the teacher is forced to increase the strength of the pacing in the last weeks of the time allocated to the unit. In both of these cases there will be a failure in acquisition.

Timing: The unfolding of the curriculum, realised in the Curriculum programmes, didactic guides and units is explicitly regulated by time. There is a total official time available to the teacher on which all the sequences of the content are dependent. Thus, the decisions the teacher takes are also dependent on time. For example, the total official time available for the realisation of the curriculum is 1080 hours. This time is classified into units. Moreover, there exist other forms of classification of the official time such as the weekly division (30 hours a week) and daily division (6 hours a day, of 45 minutes each one). Timing, from this perspective, acts as a constraining factor on pedagogic practices, that is, it affects their realisation as they must be performed in a specific given period of time. Thus, timing, by setting a strong temporal classification on the unfolding of the curricular programmes, affects fundamentally the organisation of pedagogic practices expected to be realised in the perspective of the new reform.

Criteria: The criteria of evaluation have been laid down in the methodological regulations given by the didactic units. Learning must be tested in terms of explicit behaviours formulated by the objectives. We consider that explicit criteria indicate strong framing, (+F).

The following scheme (Figure 24) illustrates the framing of

the discursive rules of transmission:

Figure 24 Framing of the Discursive Rules of Transmission

<u>Selection</u> (+F)	<u>Sequencing/Pacing</u> (+F)	<u>Timing</u> (+F)	<u>Criteria</u> (+F)
objectives content methods activities* F	+F temporal ordering of objectives, content and activities (sequencing is explicitly provided by the didactic units and the parcelling)	strong regulation of the unfolding of the curriculum realised in curriculum programmes and didactic units	criteria of evaluation explicit and in correspondence with specific objective
* There exists some relaxation in the selection of the activities.			

This suggests that the progression of the discourse fundamentally rests on a theory of learning (behaviourist) which conflicts with the official theory of acquisition. Progression of the discourse dominates development of the acquirer. In other words, the position of the acquirer is always a position in transmission.

We have here an example of a visible pedagogy masquerading as a progressive pedagogy. A developmental theory of acquisition masking a behaviouristic theory of transmission.

Contradictions in Regulative Discourse

Now we turn to the analysis of Regulative discourse (RD) which is the fundamental discourse for:

1. the explicit regulation of the social positions, moral order and relations of pupils and teachers; and
2. the explicit regulation of the social space of reproduction (sites of reproduction).

The purpose here is to give to Colombian RD a precise political meaning in its relations to categories, practices and sites of production.

In the course of educational reproduction, regulative discourse in Colombia has reproduced and legitimised the positional structure within primary schools governing the distribution of power between pupils and teachers. The crucial focii for the classification of teachers has been subjects. The strong classification between teachers has produced explicit hierarchies (director, sub-director, teacher) as can be seen in the "Reglamento Interno de las Escuelas Primarias" (public schools) promulgated in 1978.¹⁰ The crucial focii for the grouping of pupils has been age and gender. These fixed attributes are the basis for the ordering of hierarchical relations within the single sex primary school. At the same time, the group, as the official basic teaching unit, is not defined with respect to pedagogic principles, but rather is defined with respect to the demands of the expansion of the educational system. Accordingly, the number of pupils in a class is 30 as minimum and 50 as maximum (Decree 1997 of 1975).

The fixed attributes of age and gender as the basic features of the grouping of pupils has created explicit vertical and horizontal forms of social organisation (Bernstein, 1977: Ch. 2) which have not been abolished by the reforms. Thus, the social basis (positional structure) for the reproduction of the traditional regulative order implicit in the values of the school has remained the same despite the public formulations of changes in the social role of primary schools. The social order of the primary school continues to celebrate hierarchical principles of domination, and the regulative discourse continues to celebrate stratification

10. The "Reglamento Interno de las Escuelas Primarias" (1978) outlines specific functions for the director, sub-director, teachers and pupils. The regulations are very explicit.

In the previous discussion we noted a contradiction between the rules of the social context and the discursive rules within ID. Now we shall examine how differences in the rules of the social context within regulative discourse create a further set of contradictions. We must distinguish between the classificatory features of the macro context of the school and the interactional features.

On the one hand, there is no change in the principle regulating the "positional structure" of the school, which is explicitly stratified, with a strong classification of pupils and with a strong classification of teachers. On the other hand, there is a rhetoric in the principles regulating the form of control of the communicative practices through which the moral is expected to be transmitted/reproduced which indicates a weakening of framing. This does not mean that the social order of the school has been transformed. It continues to rest upon domination (perhaps a relaxed domination) and upon, as we have seen, an explicit regulation of the transmission by the teacher.

This means that within a school the distribution of power has remained unchanged but according to the rhetoric there should be some modifications within existing principles of social control. In general, we can formulate this contradiction as follows:

Coding values of expected practice: +C -F

If we now look carefully at the context of the Reform with special reference to regulative discourse we shall show that contradictions are not central to the relationships between internal and external values (i/e) but exist within the framing values themselves.

For the purpose of our discussion, we shall first examine

interactional features whether between teachers and pupils or between pupils, and, secondly, locational features of the pedagogic context.

Interactional Features of the Pedagogic Context

Teacher-pupils. The regulative discourse of the Reforms has introduced some weakening of the hierarchical relation between teacher-pupils, evidence for which can be found in terms like a "familiar atmosphere", "climate of confidence", "sense of acceptance", "knowledge of the child", "motivation", etc. Within this relaxed communication pupils must still learn and accept the ordering principles of the school which are to be made explicit. These ordering principles define an explicit hierarchy in the school with demarcation of strong boundaries between spaces, times, acts of communication. Thus, for example, the "Reglamento Interno de las Escuelas Primarias" (1978)¹¹ states: "Above all, discipline must be exemplified by the teacher, who must inculcate in the pupils habits of work, good manners, order and personal cleanliness. However, teachers and school are expected to encourage the development (through norms) of a spirit of cooperation" (Reglamento General, literal c). The guide prepared in 1964, when referring to discipline, states: "Silence and order are the principles of discipline"; and the Manual de Administracion Curricular (1979) states: "it is absolutely necessary that pupils be aware of the rules with respect to objectives, organisation, general plan of activities, internal rules, services, places, areas, calendar, schedules, organisation of pupils for work, possibilities of participation in activities,

11. These internal regulations state the obligations of pupils (punctuality, cleanliness, ordering of notebooks, respect for and cooperation with the teacher).

programmes of work with the community, and, especially, with respect to staff" (1979:70).

The modality implicit in the regulative discourse of the primary school reforms regulating the communication between teachers and pupils contains visible contradictions.

Pupil-pupil communication. We have seen that that the classification of pupils has remained unchanged, that is, the age and gender relations create homogeneous horizontal relations and stratified vertical relations in single sex schools. However, both reforms have focused upon the relations between pupils within a class. The reform - especially in 1976 - stressed the importance of small groups within the class as sites for "activities", for "learning situations" and for "problems". These reforms, especially that of 1976, imply, in our terms, a weakening of the framing of instructional discourse as this refers to the communicative relation between pupils within a class, strongly classified with respect to age and gender. We find continuous reference in the reform of 1976 to "organisation of small groups", flexible organisation of the class" and to "opportunities for self-regulating practices within the subgroups". However, it is the teacher who must control the group and its subgroups, who must control the interest of the pupils, and who, in the last instance, "has to organise the pupils for learning."

If the public rhetoric of the reform through the emphasis upon "cooperation", "participation", "habits of independent work" implies weak framing of relations between pupils, the explicit logic of the transmission of regulative discourse entails very strong framing. In other words, the greater space for pupils to be able to enact their own practices in the acquisition of the new competences is denied by the general rules of order, relation and identity, which

emphasise explicit hierarchical relations and so the control of the learning process by the teacher through the hierarchical principles for the creation of order, relation and identity.

The modality regulating the organisation of the communication between pupils from the perspective of the reforms may be schematised as follows:

Organisation:	$C \rightarrow -C$	variations in the subgroups
	$+C$	homogeneity of the class
Communication:	$F \rightarrow -F$	relaxation in the communication between pupils
	$+F$	regulation of the context of communication by the teacher

The contradictions are shown by the $+C$ and the $+F$ in which the $-C$ and $-F$ are imbedded.

Locational Features

The 1963 Reform prepared a guide for teachers which contained instructions under the heading "El Arreglo y Organizacion del Aula" (Array and Organisation of the Classroom) (pp. 20-25). The guide distinguishes between what is defined as "permanent objects" and "variable objects". "Permanent objects" referred to the image of Christ, the national flag and shield which were placed in a shrine called "The Shrine of the Patrie", and pictures of famous men. "Variable objects" referred to pictures painted by pupils and displayed together with pictures of domestic scenes, and pedagogic resources (maps, charts, etc.)

The ideological regulation of displays points to exceptionally

strong classification and framing. This strong classification extends to rules of maintenance of the spaces as laid down in both the didactic guides and "El Reglamento Interno de las Escuelas Primarias" (1978).

Cleaning of the classroom by pupils is expected:

1. to teach order, its preservation and presentation;
2. to teach pupils that everything has a specific place.

However, it is interesting to compare the above with the Manual de Administracion Curricular (1979) which states: "The array of order, decoration and preservation in general enhance the quality of the building and favour the development of an aesthetic sense of pupils" (p. 54). Previously the array celebrated order, now it appears that order is significant for its evocation of the aesthetic. Previously the array celebrated position in order or the ordering of position: a classificatory principle. The practice associated with this principle celebrated cleanliness which reinforces the classificatory principle. Now the classificatory principle is masked by or at least subordinated to an aesthetic function. There has been a change in the function through which power is realised. In other words, in this micro-analysis of space we perhaps can see that the distribution of power remains the same but a change is in the rhetoric of control.

School-Home Relations and the Extention of the State Control

In the previous analysis we have been concerned to show contradictions either within or between instructional and regulative discourse. Here we wish to draw attention to a major change initiated by the 1976's Reform in the relation between the school and the family. Basically, we will be referring to a process we shall call the "pedagogising of the family", a process which establishes the family as a second site of acquisition.

Official regulative discourse in Colombia, traditionally, has defined the school as the only legitimate site of acquisition. This recognition has been emphasised in a large number of regulations and sanctions which have acted to define the moral rules maintaining the boundaries (+C) between the school and the outside. "God and Patrie" have been the signs which separate and demarcate the internal values of the pedagogic space of the school from those spaces specified as non-pedagogic. Moreover, the +C of the pedagogic space of the primary school is celebrated by a set of rituals which have made the school "the sacred place of learning".

Traditionally, the family has been considered apart and excluded from the school.¹² This exclusion of the family from pedagogic control undermines the confidence of parents as agents of official pedagogic reproduction.

We can observe the following changes in the underlying modality of regulative discourse with respect to the relations between the school and the family:

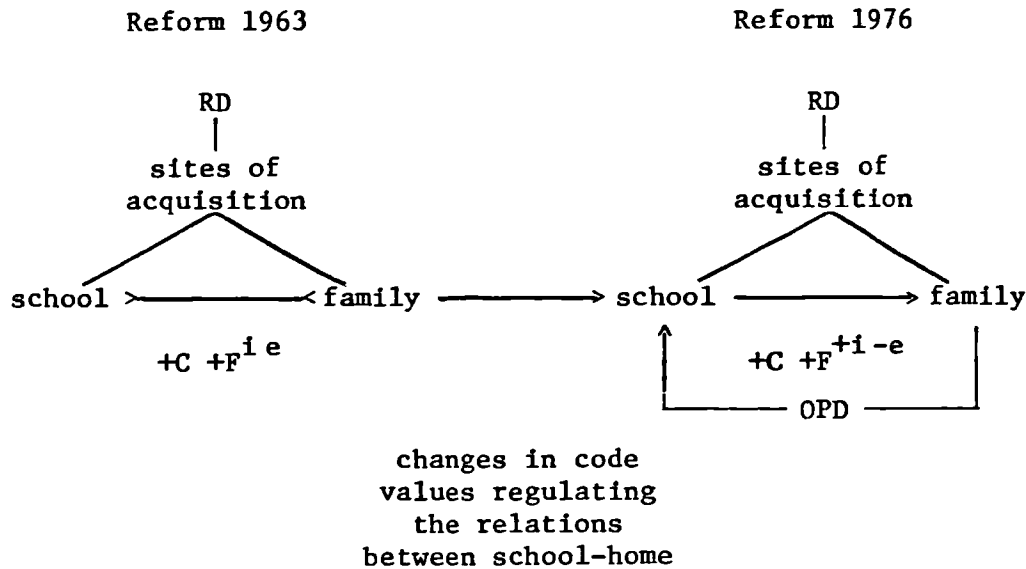
Reform 1963	Reform 1976
1. Strong classification of the sites of acquisition: (school vs. family) Home is excluded from the official discourse.	1. Less strong classification of the sites of acquisition: the school is oriented to the family: parents and community become objects of the Official Pedagogic Discourse.
2. Only the school is recognised as the legitimate site of acquisition.	2. Family is recognised as a second important site of acquisition: parents to become involved in the school, in <u>oriented</u> activities.

12. The home has been excluded because of the low cultural level attributed to it, because of the fear of intervention of parents and because of the continuous need of parents to work.

3. The external values of the framing of the communicative relations between school and home is very strong ($+F^e$).

3. The external values of the framing of the communicative relations between school and home are now weak ($-F^e$).

The code modality regulating these relations may be schematised as follows:



We see in the above diagram that there is still a strong classification between the family and the school, as the school as an agency is strongly insulated, bounded and separate from the home as an agency. The internal values (i) of the framing of the relations between teachers and pupils remains strong ($+F^i$). However, there is a change in the external value of the framing which is now weak ($-F^e$). Such a situation makes it easier for the school to control the communication, practices, events and objects which may pass from family to school. The result is that the school's control over parents and pupils becomes more extensive as a closer communication with the family through parents is developed. The task here is to get parents to accept the ordering principles of the school (as it is formulated in the Parents Project).

We can see from the perspective of the 1976's Reform the relocation

of family within the relations of Pedagogic discourse, a new position determined by political and ideological levels. From this point of view, the family is now a new pedagogic space whose position in educational reproduction can be more determined and controlled by the State educational system which now teaches parents what is required of the children. The culture of the family has become an object of regulative discourse.

This change in what appears to be only the instructional practices between the school and the family is a good example of how regulative discourse appropriates instructional discourse to colonise the family and open it to its practices.

The expansion of the primary education, the rationalisation of learning, in principle should effect both access and acquisition and so lead to greater cultural and social mobility and with this a new potential for tensions, cleavages and conflicts. The Official Pedagogic Discourse of the family may be a means whereby national orderings penetrate and become imbedded in local primary socialisation.

Conclusions

In the preceding section we analysed the contradictions within and between instructional and regulative discourse in the light of the two Reforms. Here we will attempt to synthesise within a general model the set of contradictions intrinsic and imbedded in Colombian Pedagogic discourse.

The model (Figure 25) attempts to give a redescription of the events of the Reforms by generating a set of new relations for reading the underlying structures, social relations and contradictions imbedded in Official Pedagogic Discourse.

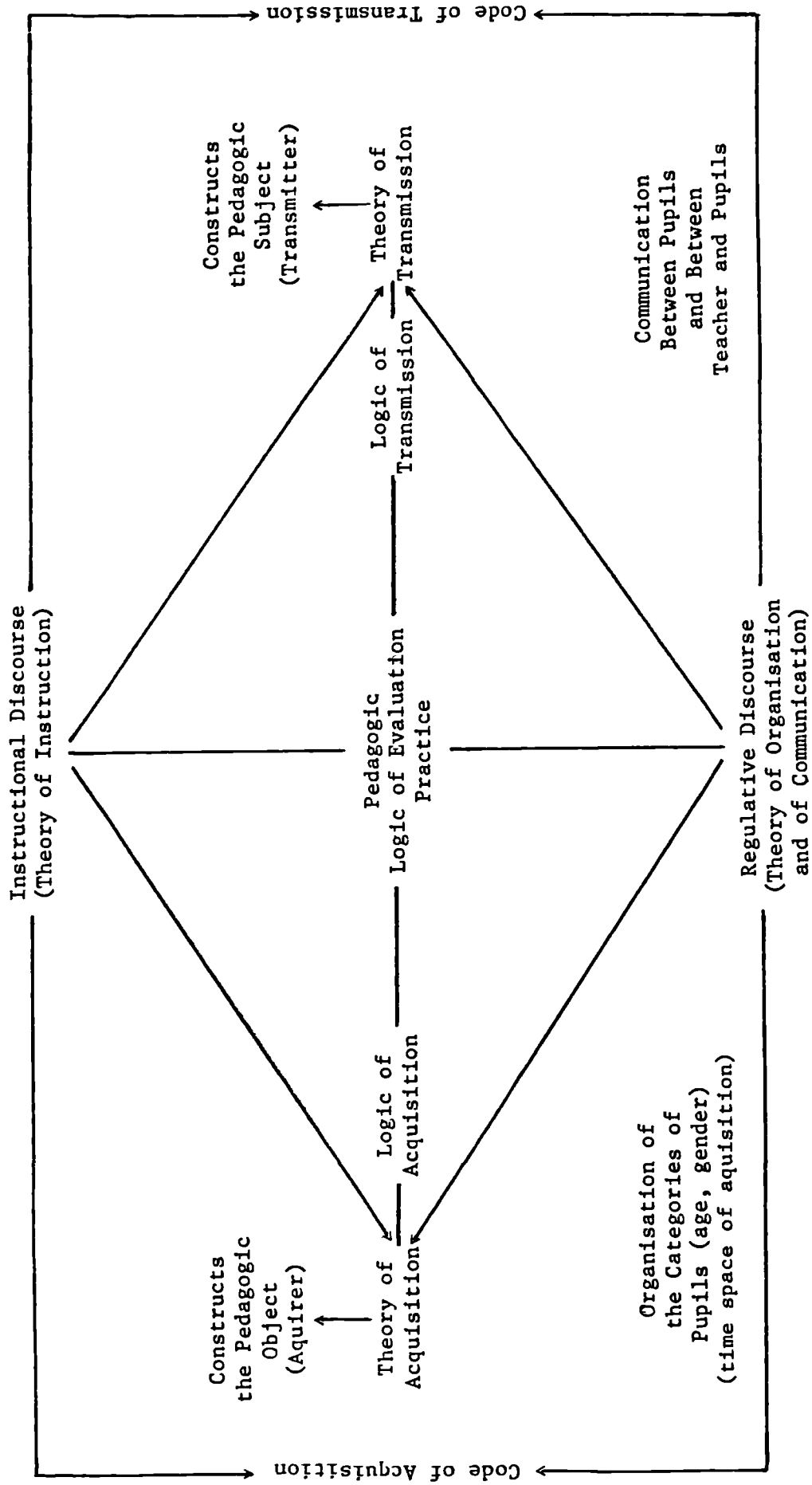


Figure 25

We shall give the assumptions underlying the relations intrinsic to the model:

1. The first assumption for the understanding of Colombian Pedagogic discourse is that its instructional discourse (ID) is structurally determined by the political and ideological levels of regulative discourse (RD). This determination, fundamentally, affects pedagogic practice as this rests on the assumptions, regulations and inter-relations of the two discourses, and makes pedagogic practice a practice ruled by contradictory principles.
2. Instructional discourse in Colombian, and possibly elsewhere, creates a crucial contradiction between the theory of acquisition and the theory of transmission.¹³

On the one hand, the theory of acquisition explains the process of learning and constructs the acquirer with his/her own logic of acquisition. As we have seen, this logic of acquisition is positioned within a behaviouristic theory of transmission. However, the emphasis in the Reforms continuously refers to the acquirer's development interests and activities. From this perspective, the code controlling the context of acquisition would be marked by a weak framing (-C -F).

On the other hand, the theory of transmission is basically behaviouristic and has given rise to an explicit logic of transmission,

13. In our view, this contradiction is not only evident in the 1963's Reform, but is more visible in the 1976's Reform. The reform of the programmes of 1935 also offers a possibility for analysing the contradictions within the very progressive instructional discourse for that time, inspired by the Decrolier method (Centres of Interest). Instructional discourse of that time imbedded a very sophisticated logic of acquisition within a logic of transmission emphasising rote-learning practices, and explicit hierarchical relations between teacher and taught. (See MEN, 1935.)

based fundamentally on explicit and specific objectives and explicit criteria and procedures of evaluation. From this perspective, the code essentially controlling the logic of transmission involves strong framing (+F) (with some variations to less strong framing (F)). Here the contradiction is between -C -F vs. +C +F.

A subordinate contradiction inheres in the logic of transmission. The discursive rules of the transmission are regulated by exceptionally strong framing whilst there is a relaxation of the rules of its social relations. (See pp. 310 and 312.)

3. The contradictions between the code of transmission and the code of acquisition of instructional discourse is the result of the strong classification between the theory - and logic- of acquisition and the theory - and logic - of transmission. This strong classification has made the logic of acquisition dependent upon, and controlled by, the explicit regulations provided by the official theory of transmission itself, a result of the correspondence between the behavioural theory of transmission and the hierarchical regulations required by regulative discourse. This means that, in the process of acquisition, it is not acquisition itself but transmission which plays the central role.
4. The public rhetoric of Official Pedagogic Discourse creates a contradiction between its progressive position with respect to the interactional context and relations of acquisition, and the maintenance of the traditional hierarchical, fixed and stratified social order of the school. On the one hand, the order implicit in the regulative discourse controlling the social relations of acquisition, celebrates participation, cooperation and a wide

range of integration between the subgroups. On the other hand, the general principle of the organisation of pupils in the school remains inflexible and celebrates strong classification. This necessarily affects the social relations within transmission. Here, we are focusing upon the regulative consequences for the teacher-pupil relation where the positional structure of a school is strongly classified with respect to age, gender, discourse. We are pointing to the implications of a +C at the macro-level of the school for the regulation of framing values of the social relations at the micro-level of the classroom. The strong classification at the macro-level sets very severe limits on the framing of order at the micro-levels.

Now we shall turn to the second contradiction subordinated to the first. It is the case that the rules of regulative discourse emphasising participation, negotiation, integration, cooperation are paralleled by the rules of instructional discourse emphasising the space available to pupils for regulating their own learning. There is no contradiction here. The contradiction appears only when we examine the resonance of the regulative culture implicit in instructional practices and explicit in the macro-features of the schools, which we believe creates an underlying movement towards strong framing of the social context of acquisition. We can formulate this contradiction as in Figure 26.

Now we can see that not only there is a contradiction between macro- and micro-levels of regulative discourse but at the micro-level of the classroom there is a contradiction of a more subtle nature illustrated in the diagram: a consequence of the resonance of regulative discourse at the macro-level with the implicit regulative discourse within instructional discourse.

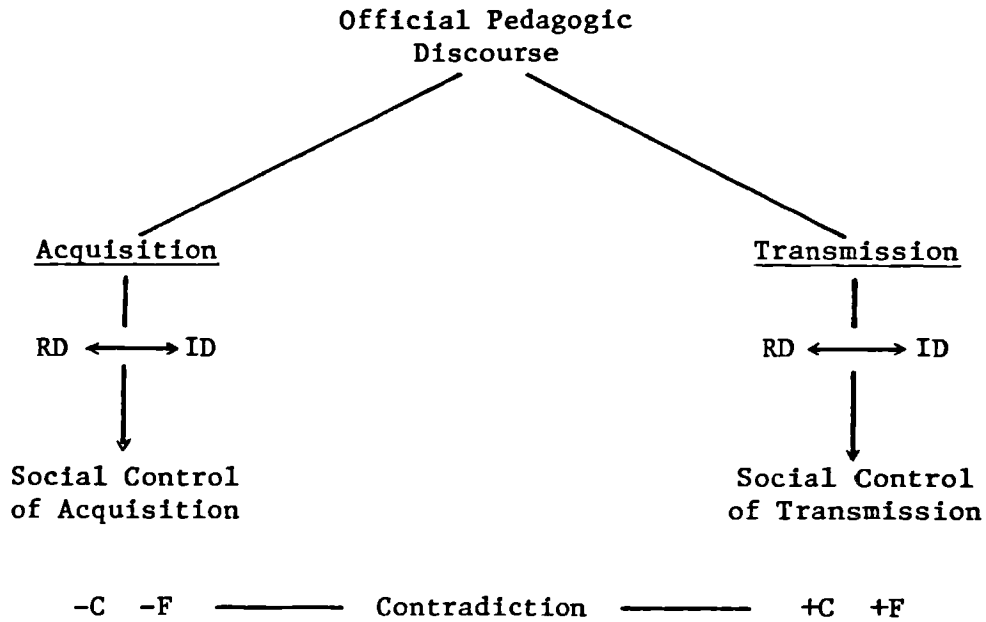


Figure 26

5. The logic of evaluation (the ordering rules) encapsulates in a condensed form the theories, logic and social relations of transmission/acquisition. The macro-features of $\frac{ID}{RD}$ speak through the micro-texts of the evaluation. In Colombia the ordering rules of evaluation are directly regulated by the State.

We can now derive a major theoretical conclusion from the model:

Every pedagogy brings a double relation:

1. between the logic of acquisition and the logic of transmission
and
2. a relation between instructional and regulative assumptions
about its practices.

The dynamic of this relation brings, in turn, as a result, the generation of different modalities of pedagogies.

Our formal analysis has revealed the central role of regulative

discourse in the selection of the official theory of instruction by:

1. the selection of its behaviourist theory of transmission which translates the requirements of a hierarchical social order and its emphasis upon accountability into the instructional discourse of the school;
2. the selection of a theory of acquisition where the self-regulating practice of the acquirer is emphasised in the acquisition of instructional discourse and cooperation, participation, negotiation and emphasised in the acquisition of regulative discourse;
3. the selection of the modality of macro/micro organisational practices;
4. the pedagogising of the family: the opening of the family to discursive penetration of the State agencies.

From our point of view we can show that the crucial contradiction in Official Pedagogic Discourse have their origins in regulative discourse in which the dominant ideology is imbedded, realised and reproduced. However, from another point of view nothing is more internally consistent at all levels than regulative discourse, provided that the contradictions are made explicit. Although it is not unusual to find contradictions in Official Pedagogic Discourse, we must ask how are those contradictions realised in a particular pedagogy and what are their functions (and consequences). We have attempted to show the form of the realisation of internal contradictions. Now we would like to explore two issues:

1. How was it, in the first place, that a logic of acquisition emphasising participation, self-regulation, and to some extent

self-acquisition in negotiated social relations with the teachers could be inserted in the official discourse of a highly stratified society in which there is a very low level of autonomy accorded to its educational system?

2. What is the function of a Pedagogic discourse which integrates two discordant messages?

1. Origins of contradictions

We can see through a necessary brief historical outline that even before USA pedagogic influence, European pedagogic progressivism played an important role in the Normal schools, that is, in the training of teachers. Indeed, the Second German Mission was invited in 1924 to participate in the reorganisation of primary education, Normal schools, secondary education and universities. However, the plan was rejected by the State and the Mission returned to Germany. We can say very tentatively, for unfortunately no research has so far been carried out, that the influence of European pedagogic progressivism may well have been strongest on the training of teachers themselves unqualified, poorly paid, politically subjugated and essentially teaching in rural areas. Such a practice would constitute no threat to the official social order. Although the State rejected the Reform plan (this was not realised as law) its influence determined later reforms such as the establishment of compulsory primary education. (See Appendix Two; Bernal, 1965.)

Of great interest the State in 1935 established the "Centres of Interest", pedagogy inspired by the Decrolierian method which emphasised the active role of the pupil in the regulating of learning.¹⁵ However,

15. For example: "the child will not be a simple memoriser of abstract principles ... but a discoverer of knowledges to be used as his/her instruments of work and of culture ... the school environment

the logic of acquisition was imbedded and subordinate to a logic of transmission emphasising rote-learning, explicit hierarchical relations between teacher and taught.¹⁶ This is the first public appearance of a contradictory grammar of Pedagogic discourse.

It would seem that this contradiction is endemic to Colombian Official Pedagogic Discourse.¹⁷

2. The contemporary function of the contradiction

From the fifties we have seen (Appendix Three) the growing influence of international agencies, especially the USA with respect to both theories of education (transmission and acquisition) and theories of economic development. The inter-relations between these two theories have attempted to close the gap between educational backwardness,

15. cont'd

must be in correspondence with the interest, capacities and experiences of the child ... the curriculum programme adjusted to the interests of the pupil ... the school demands a climate of freedom ... discipline is obtained through the intelligent and active participation of pupils ... pupils must be involved in their own learning" (translated from MEN, 1935).

16. For example: "Writing: the pupils must trace first the words with a soft pencil and later with a pen which will be appropriate to the width of the movement. Teachers must take into account these points which constitute the physiology and hygiene of writing, and also insist on a clear, simple, uniform size of letter which the teacher must give as a written example to the pupil" (MEN, 1935, programas de Lenguaje). "Daily inspection of pupils: one of the practices required for the formation of habits of hygiene requests that the teacher makes daily inspections both in the morning and in the afternoon ... the fact pupils are aware of surveillance and know that rigorous inspection is made together with the fact that the school demands are compulsory will encourage the pupils to come to school clean and tidy" (translated from MEN, 1940).

17. It may be that the contradiction between the logic of acquisition and transmission is a feature of modern Pedagogic discourse, and can be found in official texts other than in Colombia, although perhaps in a more modified form (Plowden and Bullock Reports, respectively, "Children, Their Primary Schools" and "Language for Life", HMSO).

modernisation of population and economic development. The focus of the programmes has been upon relieving political and social tensions arising out of the deteriorating social base of many developing countries. Colombia was pressed by two conflicting and perhaps contradictory tensions.

First, the problem of maintaining, reproducing and legitimating its own stratifying principles of internal order, and the interests of those who both supported and executed them (see Chapter Eleven), and, secondly, the need to satisfy international agencies and interest groups that the changes expected would be implemented.

In analysing these tensions we can see a possible complementarity between, and implications of, external policies and internal imperatives. The internal representation of official policy must resolve the tensions of facing inwards and outwards. To accomplish this double inflection Official Pedagogic Discourse condenses international Pedagogic discourse into the dominant ordering principles of the Colombian society. From this perspective we can perhaps see how Colombian Pedagogic discourse has historically accommodated to different interpellations of international discourse¹⁸ emphasising a "progressive" pedagogy. It has been able to do this because features of "progressive" Pedagogic discourse historically have been imbedded in pedagogic practice, at least at the level of official pedagogic texts. This has facilitated the ready incorporation of features of "progressive" pedagogic practice into the

18. The growing aim of USA pedagogy to achieve an articulation between power and control, between stratification and social order may be linked to the need of imposing its dominating political, economic and cultural principles upon national life. However, the influence of this pedagogy cannot be discovered by merely analysing the international politico-pedagogic programmes but taking as the object of study the dominant national Pedagogic discourse in order to analyse in it the dominant role of international pedagogy.

logic of acquisition because such features are already a rhetorical feature of the national Pedagogic discourse. However, such progressivism may be contrasted with the features of the official logic of transmission which at the micro-level reproduces strong vertical stratification (class relations) and horizontal solidarities (the Catholic nation) compatible with an internal order, celebrating a culture of poverty and a poverty of culture.

At a less metaphorical level the progressive features of Official Pedagogic Discourse are a double rhetorical sign: First, to international agencies that there is official recognition of the need for a democratic change in education and, secondly, some internal legitimation of a subordinated pedagogic past.

At the same time, the theory of transmission imported from international agencies establishes a logic of transmission which these agencies believe is a condition for economic development but which is a logic compatible with the dominating principles of Colombian regulative discourse and to its function of reproducing the existing social order.

Our analysis has been confined to Official discourse and as a consequence empirical research would be required to examine the relations between the contradictions we have made explicit at the level of Official discourse and their effect upon pedagogic practices and their social context.

SUMMARY

The objective in this part has been the application of the model at a macro-level of analysis and its relations to the micro-pedagogic processes of transmission/acquisition at the primary level of education. When we looked at the reforms of 1963 and 1976 we attempted to show the interplay between macro- and micro-processes through the examination of the underlying principles of the reforms.

At the macro-level we observed that the focus has been dominated by the State's rhetorical emphasis upon economic development, social integration, social mobility and the elimination of social and occupational marginality. These features have constituted the elements of an ideology of "development" understood as "a process of social change involving role aspirations, power relationships and capacity for participation in the national society of all the strata of the population" (UN-ECLA, 1968).¹

Such an ideology of development required three central elements: capital, technology and education. Under this ideology it was argued that because of the cultural and educational backwardness, ignorance and lack of preparation (Medina, 1963:23) together with the structural weaknesses of the Latin American societies, educational solutions should be dependent on external (international) educational and economic assistance, basically, provided by the USA through its international agencies and programmes (Alliance for Progress).

1. Thus, the achievement of industrialisation through foreign investments has required the national economy to adopt technologies, models of organisation and ideologies in correspondence with the demands of the foreign capital.

The theory of development acted directly upon educational and economic policies and upon models which articulated them. Education was here viewed as the means of economic development and social control. From this perspective the theory of development (and its practices) attempted to solve the potential and actual contradictions created by the increasing inequalities between social groups. The educational strategy adopted to achieve development was reform through "modernisation" and "expansion" (UN-ECLA, 1969).

Under the cover of modernisation there has been a rapid specialisation of educational agencies of the State (administrative and pedagogic) in order to strengthen the links between national and international educational and economic programmes. International co-operation has emerged as a means of indirect/direct control on the national educational programmes. Modernisation of the educational agencies of the State attempted to replace the traditional pedagogic bureaucracy linked to the political parties by a new group of specialists trained within the technocratic ideology, with an apparently more neutral, technical and efficiency image. It also has attempted to replace traditional pedagogic discourse/practice by more technocratic forms, and in this way has created a more technocratic image of the pedagogic process and, therefore, an image of more efficient and equal acquisition.

Behind the expansion of education there has been an ideology of social mobility and of reduction of social inequalities. In the view of the theoreticians of "development", the expected changes in the economy supported by the increase in educational opportunity would lead to greater vertical and horizontal mobility generating greater equality of access to different economical occupations (Puiggros, 1980) and greater possibility of spatial, economical and ideological movement.

The theoreticians of "development" are of the belief that the opening of education to the lower strata of the population not only brings social mobility and greater social opportunity, but also develops political and social consciousness, which could introduce a new source of disturbance of the system. In order to deal with the possibility of such disturbance expansion of education has been filtered through a new form of pedagogic reproduction which closely regulates specific educational features and general cultural features.

However, neither the modernisation of the educational system nor the expansion of opportunity (at the lower levels of education) have produced relevant changes in the existing structures of educational inequalities and in the dominant class relations of Colombian society.

If the Administrative and Pedagogic Agencies have undergone a shift towards more technically oriented agencies more responsive to the development of the needs of the country and to the civic, economic and social needs of its citizens (USAID, Mission to Colombia, 1973:1) the expert group of agents whether pedagogues, administrators or planners continue to be an extension of the political system. These educational agencies of the State may be seen as the meeting-point of the macro-demands (international and national policies) and the body of knowledges, ideologies, and techniques that shape reproduction at the micro-level.

Furthermore, the centralised character of the educational system has enabled the State to control these agencies. From this perspective the State acts selectively on the objectives, procedures, contents and areas of the reform proposals.

On the other hand, if during the period under study there has been a relative expansion of education, basically at the primary level,

this has not been sufficient to provide the expected social mobility and ideological consciousness. Access to the educational system continues to be low together with a low level of retention² and the rate of illiteracy and drop-out is still very high. Other factors contribute to make expansion a rhetorical goal. There is still discrimination between the rural and urban educational service, the physical conditions of the schools continue to be inadequate, the construction of schools lags behind the growth of the lower strata of the urban population which makes schools overcrowded (besides their poor quality), geographical educational inequalities are still present, and there is increasing privatisation of education at the secondary and higher levels (Arnove, 1975).

It is paradoxical that the Minister of Education in 1971 stated: "Secondary education in great part is reserved to those classes that have the luxury of giving their children private education" (Arnove, 1975).

In essence, what expansion has created is the image of democratic access to education and, thus, the image of a more egalitarian society and of more rational planning of the relations between education and production, while maintaining the structural conditions, principles and

2. Rate of retention in the public primary and secondary schools

	school age	enrol- ment	third grade	fifth grade	first second.	fourth second.	sixth second.
URBAN	100%	77%	40.04%	21.56%	7.7%	3.85%	2.3%
RURAL	100%	77%	11.55%	3.85%	1.3%	0.65%	0.4%

Source: MEN (Lineamientos, p. 5) based on a sample of 100 children of school age.

practices of reproduction of social inequalities.³

At the micro-level, we observe that the focus has been dominated by increasing control over modalities of acquisition and over transmitter. Parallel to the educational policy of expansion the schooling process has undergone reforms. These reforms have attempted to create an image of new pedagogic practices based upon a progressive pedagogy, and upon a new organisation pattern for schools. However, the reforms did not question either the dominating system of traditional values or the ideological orientations of the school content. The child as in previous reforms continued to be the centre of concern of Official discourse. The so-called progressive pedagogy attempted to articulate a pedagogic practice imbedding cooperative and colaborative activites between pupils and teachers⁴ encouraging pupils to have more involvement in their own acquisition, within a systematised and pre-packaged set of pedagogic texts which inform and control acquisition and transmission.⁵

From our perspective, there has been no change in the actual code modalities of pedagogic practices and the strong classification over the selection and the strong framing over the sequencing, pacing and criteria of the acquisition remain masked by the relaxed atmosphere of acquisition.

-
3. Evidence on who receives education from one generation to another is presented by Arnove (1975), based on a statistical overview of education in Colombia presented by Rama and Goldsen (1968).
 4. In Official Pedagogic Discourse, the teacher is seen as a resource rather than a decision-maker.
 5. Interesting questions have been raised by Apple (1982) in relation to the procedures of control that enter into the school in the guise of pre-designed curricular/teaching/evaluation "systems", such as (1) the separation of planning from execution, (2) loss of control by the teacher, (3) deskilling of the teacher, and (4) loss of interaction between teachers.

A substantive concern at the micro-level has been the attempt to change the school/family (community) relations in order to increase the control over the family through the participation of the family in the school. However, this participation is regulated so as to ensure the dominance of the school's values and practices. Thus, the maintenance of strong framing of the external values of the school continues to control who can have a voice within the school and who can have access to its discourse.

Thus, if at the macro-level there has been a relative expansion of education (or an image of a relative expansion) this expansion has been controlled by the explicit and detailed regulation of the code of Pedagogic discourse (Official Pedagogic Code) which continues to act selectively both upon acquisition and transmission. It is important to consider, in this respect, that the macro-level action of the State has shaped a context of reproduction which does not disturb the stratified character of the society. The new strategic control of the school has undermined the possibility of diversity in instruction by reducing the relative autonomy of teachers. The new code is supposed to act as a grid for social mobility. However, because this code is based in, and so legitimated by, an apparently efficient technology of education, failures provoked by the code are transformed into failures of pupils and/or their social backgrounds.

Finally, we should like to draw attention to the fact that the new reforms have not changed the relations between the public and private sectors of education nor their reproductive function.⁶ Private

6. It must be noted that by law public and private education are controlled by the State. However, this does not affect the high autonomy of private education when compared with public education.

education in Colombia is controlled either by the Church or by private economic groups. It is not much to say that private education constitutes, legitimates and reproduces the consciousness of the elite and of the middle-class sectors.⁷ The difference between public and private education in Colombia can be schematised as follows (Figure 27).

7. Statistics show that when middle-class sectors make use of public education they receive more subsidy per pupil enrolled than the families of the lower income. See Jallade, J.P. (1974).

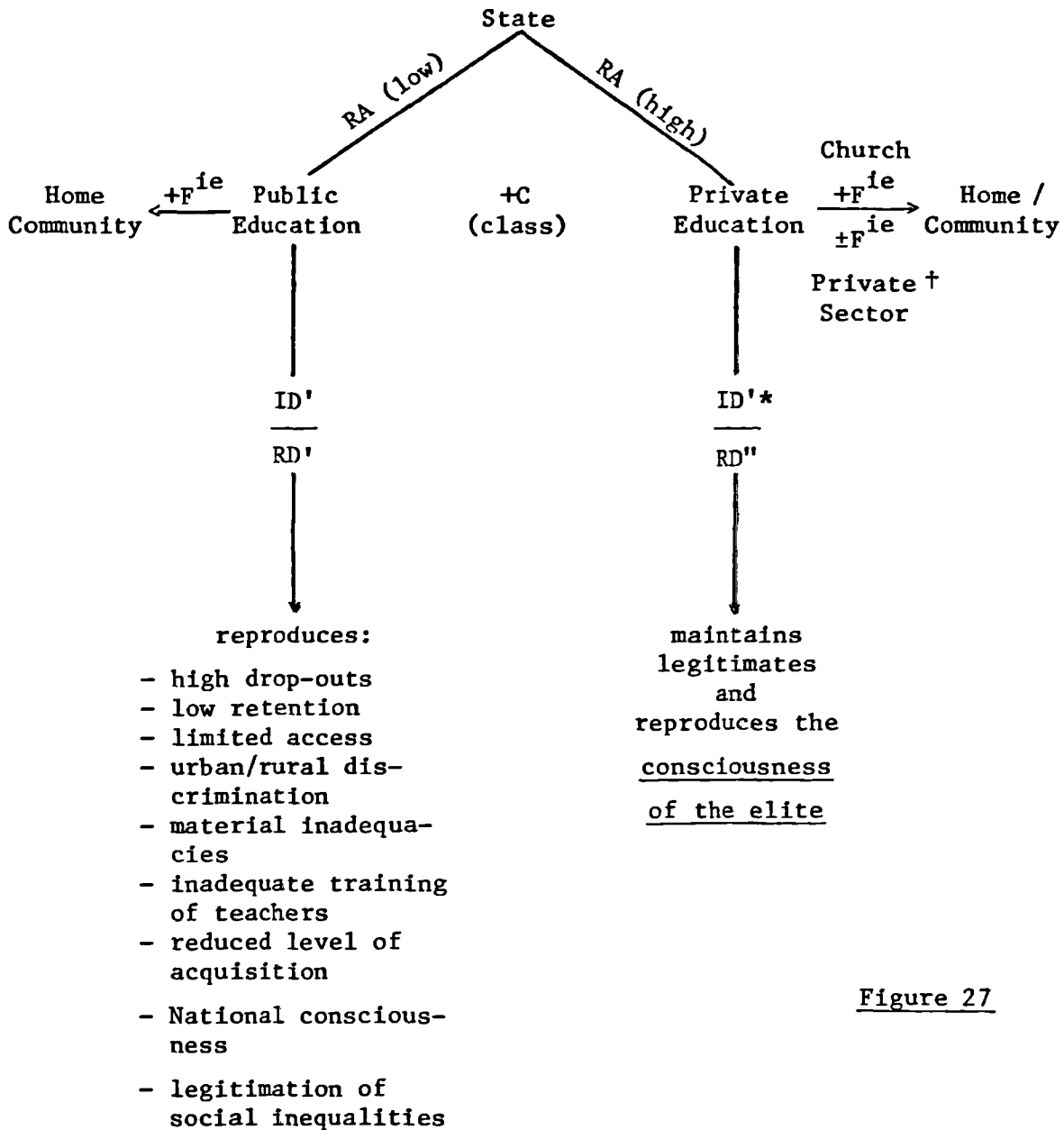


Figure 27

RA - Relative Autonomy

* In theory there is no difference between SID in the public sector and SID in the private sector. However, teachers in the private sector are better trained, better paid and the resources available are of higher standard.

† There is more greater possibility of parental control in the private sector than in the sector controlled by the Church.

Bibliography

- Apple, M. (1982) "Curricular Form and the Logic of Technical Control" in Apple, M. (ed.) (1982), Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Arevalo, J.E. (1964) Historia de la Educacion en Colombia, Bogota: Ministerio de Educacion Nacional.
- Arrove, R. (1965) "Políticas Educativas Durante el Frente Nacional 1958-1974", Revista Colombiana de Educacion, No. 1, p. 85.
- Bernal, A. (1965) La Educacion en la Historia de Colombia, Bogota: Ministerio de Educacion Nacional.
- Bernstein, B. (1977) Class, Codes and Control: Vol. 3. Towards a Theory of Educational Transmissions, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bernstein, B., Seminars.
- Casallas, B. (1956) La Evolucion Educativa en Colombia, Bogota: Cultural Colombiana.
- Department of Education and Science (1967) Plowden Report, Children and their Primary School, London: HMSO.
- Department of Education and Science (1975) Bullock Report, A Language for Life, London: HMSO.
- Jallade, J.P. (1974) Public Expenditure on Education and Income Distribution in Colombia, Occasional Papers No. 18, Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press.
- Jaramillo, U.J. (1980) "El Proceso de Educacion" in Manual de Historia de Colombia, Tomo III, Bogota: Instituto Colombiano de Cultura.
- Lebot, I. (1972) "Elementos para la Historia de la Educacion en Colombia en el Siglo XX" in DANE, Boletin Mensual de Estadística, 249, pp. 123-161.
- Medina, E.J. and Higgins, B. (1963) Aspectos Sociales del Desarrollo Economico en America Latina, Paris: UNESCO.
- Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1935) El Texto de los Programas de Primera y Segunda Ensenanza, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional.
- Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1940) Programas de Salud e Higiene para las Escuelas Primarias y Observaciones Metodologicas sobre la Materia, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1978) "Reglamento Interno para las Escuelas Primarias Oficiales", Bogota.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1979) Manual de Administracion Curricular, Educacion Basica Primaria. Direccion General de Capacitacion y Perfeccionamiento Docente, Currículo y Medios Educativos, Bogota.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (no date) Lineamientos Generales del Currículo Colombiano. Direccion General de Capacitacion y Perfeccionamiento Docente, Currículo y Medios Educativos, Bogota.

Puiggros, A. (1980) Imperialismo y Educacion en America Latina, Mexico: Editorial Nueva Imagen.

Rama, G. and Goldsen, R. (1969) "A Statistical Overview of Education in Colombia", Bogota Fundacion Ford, Mimeografiado.

Tyler, R.W. (1950) Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

United Nations-ECLA (1968) Education, Human Resources and Development in Latin America, New York: United Nations Publications.

United Nations-ECLA (1969) "Politica Educativa" en "El Cambio Social en la Politica de Desarrollo Social en America Latina", Washington.

USAID Mission to Colombia (1973) "Colombia: Education Sector Assessment", USAID Monograph.

Decretos (Decrees)

Decreto 1977 de 1975, por el cual se establese el numero de alumnos por curso en los establecimientos oficiales de educacion elemental y media. (Decree 1977 of 1975 that establishes the number of pupils per class in the public primary and secondary schools.)

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

We are now in a position to take up the second of our issues, the relations between Foucault and Bernstein. We were not able to consider this issue until we had pieced together from published and unpublished sources Bernstein's theory of Pedagogic discourse as the major device for cultural reproduction. We have tried to identify the internal grammar of this device. We have considered that the pedagogic device is fundamentally a discursive resource which establishes a system of relations within and between two discourses, instructional and regulative.

We have postulated the existence of different types of structural relations and functions between and with Pedagogic discourse (pedagogic device) in the process of cultural reproduction in school. Such relations have been abstracted as:¹

Intradiscursive relations, which refer to the intrinsic features which isolate one discourse from another, for example, the intrinsic features which characterise instructional discourses as different from those which characterise regulative discourse.

Interdiscursive relations, which create dependences, hierarchies and subordinations from one discourse to another, within and between the constituting elements of Pedagogic discourse. Consider, for example,

-
1. These ideas are fundamentally based upon Bernstein's and Foucault's developments on the matter. It is important to note that Bernstein and Foucault use these relations in a somewhat different way.

the hierarchies created and legitimised within Instructional discourse, with respect to RD and vice versa.

Extradiscursive relations, which mark the function of the constituents of Pedagogic discourse (I/R) in specific contexts such as school, home, etc.² From this perspective, we consider that Pedagogic discourse, as an abstract pedagogic device, can be integrated into particular functions of reproduction within particular contexts within the field of symbolic control. In this way, Pedagogic discourse, we have argued, becomes a device for the production/reproduction of forms of consciousness, entailing the reproduction of specific differences and inequalities.

We have also considered that the intrinsic and extrinsic relations of Pedagogic discourse are positioned within the dominating principles and practices of the social division of labour of symbolic control. Changes in the principles and rules intrinsic and extrinsic to the pedagogic device may have their source in either the field of production and/or the field of symbolic control, but the forms the change takes, that is, its modality, is regulated by the dominant principles and practices of the field of symbolic control which, in turn, are limited by the dominant principles of the State.

Our methodology for examining Pedagogic discourse has attempted to integrate the principles, concepts and rules proposed by Bernstein in strand two of his theory³ and in Foucault's analysis of the relations

2. When we examined regulative discourse in schools, we emphasised its function of maintaining and legitimising stratification via its procedures for maintaining and promoting apparent social integration. When we examined instructional discourse, we emphasised its divisive function, its hierarchised/hierarchising character and its fundamental function in the production/reproduction of social inequalities.

3. See Bernstein (1977:Introduction; 1981; 1982).

between discourse, power and the subject. We have considered this articulation necessary as Bernstein's and Foucault's work present some common elements at least with respect to the field of symbolic control.

We think that Bernstein and Foucault from rather different perspectives emphasise the relations between discourse, power, control and the subject. We will attempt to show how both authors have developed related theoretical positions useful for the understanding of the character of Pedagogic discourse as a device of symbolic control.

Discourse

For Bernstein and Foucault discourses may be considered as specialised categories. Foucault adopts a diachronic view of discourse in the analysis of how discourses have become specialised forms of organisation of knowledge (see Foucault, 1973). Within this view, he attempted to isolate discourse as an autonomous and self-regulating system covered by the notion of "discursive formation" as presented in the Archaeology of Knowledge.⁴ Bernstein retraces the process of production of discourse in its structural aspects (its synchronic process). He is more specifically concerned with the power relations intrinsic to the social division of labour of production, transmission and production of discourse.⁵

Foucault was initially concerned with the individualisation of discourses in terms of their internal and external criteria. The internal

4. We will not attempt to analyse here the complex theoretical development of Foucault's theory of discourse.

5. See Bernstein (1981:14).

criteria (relations within, or intrinsic criteria) were referred to relations within and between objects, operations, concepts and theoretical options within a discourse, which define its unity and individuality. The external criteria were referred to the relations between discourses (changes or boundaries, for example) and between discourses and the context in which they function in the process of their transformation. This is what Foucault means by intradiscursive, interdiscursive and extradiscursive dependences (1978:13).

For Foucault "discourses are limited practical domains which have their boundaries, their rules of formation, their own conditions of existence" (1978:16). These conditions of existence are affected when discourse enters in the domain called by Foucault "political practices", that is, when discourse enters into extradiscursive dependences.

For Bernstein, in turn, the individualisation of discourses is created, maintained and reproduced only if power relations between discourses (that is, the boundaries between discourses) is preserved. Bernstein distinguishes between the distinctive features of a form of discourse which give it its speciality and the principle of the social division of labour created for its transmission and reproduction. However, he has not been concerned with the internal criteria for the individualising of a discourse.⁶

The control on the production and reproduction of discourse are studied by Bernstein and Foucault from different perspectives. Bernstein

6. In as much as Bernstein has become engaged in the analysis of the grammar of pedagogic discourse as a device of cultural reproduction his position here has become much clearer (Bernstein, Seminars).

sees in the principle of the social division of labour the fundamental principle regulating the production, transmission and reproduction of discourse. Foucault sees a number of procedures whose role is to control, organise and redistribute the production of discourse in every society (1971). These procedures are internal and external to discourse. Both analyses link the control over discourse to power relations. However, whilst for Foucault these power relations are extrinsic and intrinsic, for Bernstein they are inherent in the principle of classification which presupposes "insulation maintenance" between discourses and between the categories entailed in their production/reproduction.

The principle of classification regulates in Bernstein the ordering and distribution of discourse whether in its production or in its reproduction. The principle of classification focuses upon the relations between, at different levels (extradiscursive, intradiscursive and transmission context - interdiscursive relations regulated by a principle of relation). In this sense, we consider that the principle of classification underlies practices which in Foucault are exerted from the outside or the inside the discourse (internal procedures through which discourses exert their own control, e.g. discipline), or in relation to the speaking subjects (subjects in discourse). Thus, when referring to internal control over the production of discourse, Foucault states: "Discipline is a principle of control over the production of discourse. The discipline fixes limits for discourse by the action of an identity, which takes the form of a permanent reactivation of the rules" (1971). What power relations do through the principle of discipline is to inscribe discourses (knowledge) in the hierarchical order of power associated with status (social, scientific). From this perspective the insulation between discourses becomes a fundamental issue of power relations. Here Foucault sees power in a negative way, "as a limitation

on discourse" (Sheridan, 1980). We must note that Foucault changes this position later when he presents the relations power/discourse. Discourse becomes the arena where power is exercised: There is no power on the one side and discourse on the other, but only fundamental forms of power/discourse. Thus, whilst for Foucault power becomes realised within discourse, which means that discourse can be both an effect and an instrument of power, for Bernstein power is realised in the relations between discourses, and between other categories. Discipline, in this case, would be a sub-principle or a realisation of the classificatory principle.

Power

For Bernstein, power relations spring from a relational system of specific positions occupied by specific categories, whether agents, agencies or discourses. From this perspective what maintains power relations is the insulation between categories. For Bernstein, the degree of insulation between categories is a crucial regulator of the relations between categories (power relations) and the specificity of their "voices" (1981:12). Thus, power relations, in Bernstein, regulate principles of classification by preserving or changing degrees of insulation between categories (ibid.:13).

Power relations create for Bernstein the structure of the relations in space, the boundary between spaces. To preserve these boundaries specific rules of exclusion together with boundary maintainers are provided. The principle of classification established by the power relations represents in Bernstein the transformation at the semiotic level of the power relations set by class relations as the "dominating principle". It is from this perspective a paradigmatic principle which establishes

similarities, differences and hierarchies between categories.

For Foucault power in the substantive sense "le pouvoir" does not exist. Power for Foucault means "relations, a more-or-less organised, hierarchical, coordinated cluster of relations" (1977). Foucault's vision of power differs from what he calls the "juridico-discursive" (macro) representation of power, associated to a "group or institution and mechanisms that ensure the subserviance of the citizens of a given state" (1981:92). Foucault rejects the macro consideration of power (class, class struggle, the State) in favour of a vision which considers power as diluted, omnipresent and diffused among innumerable micro-situations: "Power, Foucault states, cannot be localised in a particular type of institution or state apparatus; this means that power relations are not localised in the relations between the state and its citizens or in the frontier between classes and that they do not merely reproduce at the level of individuals, bodies, gestures and behaviour, the general form the law or government" (1977:26-27).

For Foucault, the micro-physics of power assumes that power is omnipresent and immanent in any field of struggle, "power is everywhere and comes from everywhere" (1981:93).⁷ For the micro-physics of power, power relations "define innumerable points of confrontation, focuses of instability, each of which has its own risks of conflict, of struggles, and ... temporary inversion of the power relations." From this perspective, struggles or resistances, as Sheridan (1980:139) notes, cannot be totalised - a single centralised, hierarchised organisation setting out to seize a single, centralised power; but it can be serial, that

7. Deleuze considers that Foucault's functionalism lies in a modern topology which does not assign a privileged place as a source of power. See Deleuze (1975).

is, in terms of horizontal links between one point of struggle and another.

Foucault also considers that power does not consist simply of obligations and of negative procedures of repression and prohibition; power is positive and productive, thus, "power produces things, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression" (Foucault, 1980:119). In the same way, Foucault advances the assumption that "where there is power there is resistance and consequently resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power." According to this view, a multiplicity of points of resistance are linked to a multiplicity of power relations (Foucault, 1981:95). Poulantzas notes that Foucault's resistances, which are a necessary element of every power situation, remain a strictly gratuitous assertion in the sense that they are given no foundation: they are a pure affirmation of principle (Poulantzas, 1978:149).

The analysis of power brings out some similarities and differences between Bernstein and Foucault. For both power is relational, complex and transforming. For both power is realised in the interplay of non-egalitarian relations. However, some differences appear when we deepen the analysis. For Bernstein class relations is the cornerstone of power. From this perspective, power has a specific base. Class relations regulate the unequal distribution of power and the unequal positioning in power. In Bernstein's view, the relational mode of powers refers to a system of allocation of positions which have their source in the principle of the social division of labour and social relations of the field of production. This relational mode can be extended to other

fields in which power can be exercised and reproduced, such as the called field of symbolic control. From this perspective, for Bernstein there exist no different fields of power but fields and agencies in which power can be transformed and reproduced. For Foucault, in turn, power is not subordinated to the social division of labour within a mode of production. As Poulantzas says, for Foucault the power relation never has any other basis than itself: it becomes a pure "situation" in which power is always immanent (Poulantzas, 1978:149).⁸

In brief, if Bernstein and Foucault refer to micro-situations for Bernstein micro-situations are affected by the class structure, the social division of labour, and specific principles through which power relations are realised. Foucault refers to micro-situations as micro-powers. He underestimates class and class relations and also ignores the role of the State.

Power-Subject

Another important issue that traverses the relation between Bernstein and Foucault concerns the production of a specific subjectivity. The entry of the subject in the arena of power has led Bernstein and Foucault to present different positions and orientations. While Foucault turns to the micro-powers Bernstein refers to the principles of control (principles of communication) through which a given distribution of power is maintained, legitimised and reproduced.

Fundamental to Bernstein is the articulation between power and control, which operating outside the subject can be acquired and

8. An example of the immanent character of power can be given in the analysis of the panopticon. Deleuze (1975) considers that for Foucault the frame of reference of power is previous to its realisation in any particular context.

transformed by the subject in such a way as to reproduce power positions or to challenge, resist and change a specific positioning. It is possible to infer from Bernstein's analysis that, at the macro-level, while power relations create the opposition between a dominant and a dominated class, which acts directly upon the forms of distribution of legitimate dominating and dominated positions, at the micro-level power relations transformed into principles of communication create, in turn, the different dominating and dominated positions together with their contradictions, cleavages and dilemmas.

From this perspective, Bernstein's assumptions about power differ from those of Foucault in the sense that power relations do not reproduce at the level of the subject behaviour and passive positions, but also the inherent principles of contradiction. The subject, then, is not the passive mirror of power relations but a source of interruption of dominating power relations. What enables the subject to become source of power in Bernstein is the acquisition of the voice together with its internal contradictions, the "yet to be voiced": "The subject creates, maintains, reproduces, and legitimises the distribution of power through the development and establishing of the syntax of generation of meanings (1981:16-17).

In Foucault what the machinery of power attempts to produce is the "obedient subject, the individual subjected to habits, rules, orders and authority that is exercised continually around him and upon him and which he must allow to function automatically in him" (1977:128-129). The individual in this view is a reality fabricated by a specific technology called "disciplines". It seems to us that disciplines, according to this view, construct the "paradigmatic subject".

The practices of positioning subjects in a particular order, relation

and identity (transformation of behaviour in Foucault) are for Bernstein dependent upon the variations in the values of the classification and framing which define the mode of the transmission/acquisition within specific communicative contexts of a given distribution of power. Thus, while there exist specific spatial and temporal features of the communicative context these vary according to the variations in the values of the principles of control.

Then, while for Bernstein a given distribution of power is transformed at the level of the subject into specific principles which position subjects and regulate interactions but also contradictions and resistances, for Foucault power produces specific subjects, subjects which are the principle of their own subjection (Foucault, 1977:202).

Devices

The question of how power is exercised, or how power is legitimised, maintained and reproduced has led, from different perspectives, to isolate and conceptualise the way in which the subject (or the body) has become an essential component for the operation of power or for the reproduction of the distribution of power. But whilst Foucault is seeking to isolate the specific mechanisms of technologies through which power is articulated through the body, Bernstein is seeking to establish the underlying device regulating the distribution/reproduction of power by symbolic means (principles of communication). Here we find a difference between what the device would be for Bernstein and what the device would be for Foucault. For Foucault the device functions at the level of disciplines (modalities, techniques, or practices) whose constitution he historically explores. For Bernstein the device functions at the level of discourse (Pedagogic discourse and its intrinsic grammar) he structurally

analyses. It is important to note that this difference arises out of the different positions both authors hold about power. We have said that Foucault is less concerned with a theory of power than with and analytics of power at the micro-level (1981) whereas Bernstein operates with a notion of power rooted in class relations (macro-level), or equivalent dominant principles.

We will first attempt to analyse possible similarities between Foucault and Bernstein emerging basically from the micro-level, and then we will comment on the differences. We will attempt to establish a link between Bernstein's device (Pedagogic discourse and its intrinsic grammar) and Foucault's disciplines.

The similarities between Bernstein and Foucault appear to be more visible when we analyse the structure and function of Foucauldian disciplines and Bernstein's pedagogic practices. It seems to us that through techniques, procedures and principles or rules, both practices (discipline and pedagogic practices) classify, specialise, distribute along scales (age, gender) which create hierarchies and functions. However, whilst Bernstein analyses pedagogic practices from a structural-interactional perspective which allows relations between agents and agencies to play a role in the reproduction, interruption or transformation of the dominant cultural categories and of the device of reproduction itself (PD and its intrinsic grammar),⁹ Foucault analyses disciplines from a historical perspective which excludes the subject, either individual or collective,

9. In Bernstein, the structural analysis of the pedagogic device (PD and its intrinsic grammar) does not exclude the study of the transformations of the pedagogic device itself (grammar of symbolic control) through different periods of social development. From this perspective, Bernstein sees the complexity of the pedagogic device (increasing complexity in the modalities of symbolic control) in the increasing complexity of the social division of labour of symbolic control (Bernstein, Seminars).

of any intervention in subjection or domination.¹⁰ The subject (the body) rather than been a generative principle of power (as it can be seen in Bernstein's view) is the principle of its own subjection.

For Foucault (1977) discipline cannot be identified either with an institution or with an apparatus but with a type of power or a modality of its exercise comprising a whole set of instruments, techniques, procedures, levels of application, targets, etc. Discipline from this perspective is a 'physics' or an 'anatomy' of power, a technology, that traverse all kinds of apparatuses and institutions. In Foucault's view, the modality of control (discipline) refers to methods or practices, techniques, procedures, mechanisms, instruments, or technologies he intends to map within a historical context. In essence, discipline is a practice of control through which power is exercised on the body. The aim of disciplinary technology, Foucault says, is to forge a docile body "that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved" (1977:136).

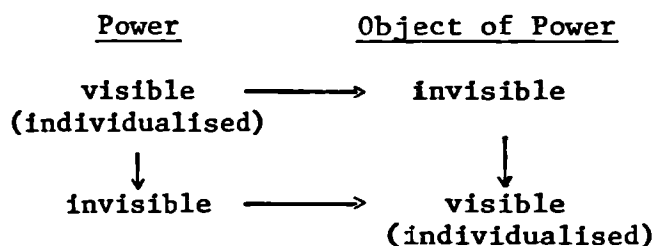
For Bernstein, in turn, pedagogic practice could also be considered as disciplinary practices. These also comprise procedures and, more specifically, modalities (regulated modalities) which vary according to the variations in the values intrinsic to the principles of control (C/F). In this sense, pedagogic practices are not a type of power but the means

10. Part of the possibility of establishing the relation between Bernstein's and Foucault's lies in the fact that both authors, from rather different perspectives, are concerned with transformations of the modalities of control. Another fact is that Bernstein's device (practices of control or Foucault's discipline) can be abstracted from any particular context and function within the field of symbolic control. It is in this sense that Bernstein talks about grammar when he talks about the pedagogic device. Recently, he has been concerned with the grammar of symbolic control (pedagogic device), and the modalities of realisation it generates (disciplines Foucault).

of its reproduction. The ensemble of pieces, constituting the disciplinary principles and procedures in Foucault, are arranged in Bernstein in two principles (interactional, locational) through which pedagogic practices operate. The explicit distinction in Bernstein between power and control makes it possible to analyse the modalities of pedagogic practices within a given distribution of power, to explain the transformations of modalities within a given distribution of power, and the transformations of modalities from the transformations in the distribution of power.

Whilst for Foucault the specialisation of disciplines involves an increase in the scale of control and the atomisation of the social body into individuals¹¹ for Bernstein shifts in pedagogic practices

-
11. According to Foucault, the appearance of discipline(s) marks the reversal of the 'political axis of individualisation' (from an ascending individualisation to a descending individualisation) as a consequence of the forms of power from the traditional visible forms to the invisible forms of power (disciplinary power). In the traditional forms of power, power itself is made visible and those on whom power is exercised could remain in the shade (invisible). Disciplinary power reverses these relations, it is power which becomes invisible and the objects of power visible.



It may be that we could see this movement from the visibility of power to its invisibility as a move from forms of mechanical solidarity to forms of organic solidarity. We know that whereas under mechanical solidarity, individuals confront one another indirectly, their confrontation being mediated by the belief system, under organic solidarity, in situations of social control, the belief system recedes into the background and the individuals confront one another directly (Bernstein, 1977:68). Do we have here a parallel between the invisibility of the object of power and mechanical solidarity where individuals face each other only through the collective moral system, and the visibility of the object of power and organic solidarity where individuals are differentiated, specialised and therefore visible?

(its increasing complexity) are a function of changes in the distribution of power and principles of control. Bernstein would argue that Foucault's changes in the scale of control arise out of the increase in the division of labour of symbolic control, and changes in its modalities created by the increasing abstractness of its principles. In the same way, the discursive basis of the forces of production have become increasingly abstract and likely to give rise to a simplification of the social division of labour. Thus, from this point of view, we have an increase in the division of labour of symbolic control and a simplification in the division of labour of production. Under these conditions the pedagogic device may well become a more pervasive disciplinary device.

The individual becomes the object of control both in discipline and pedagogic practices. But disciplines produce subjected and "docile" bodies; disciplines increase the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience) (Foucault, 1977:138). Pedagogic practices positions subjects into unequal power relations which are regulated by the modalities given by the pedagogic device (Pedagogic discourse). Each modality given by PD entails specific power/control relations at the level of the practices. However, we cannot expect an absolute correspondence between a given modality and its subsequent realisations.

What discipline does is to dissociate power from the body: "on the one hand, it turns it into an 'aptitude', a 'capacity' which it seeks to increase; on the other hand, it reverses the course of the energy, the power that might result from it and turns it into a relation of strict subjection" (Foucault, 1977:138). (See Figure 28.)

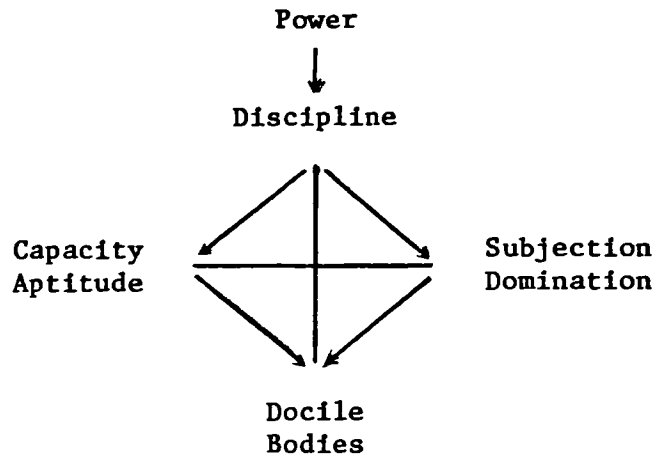


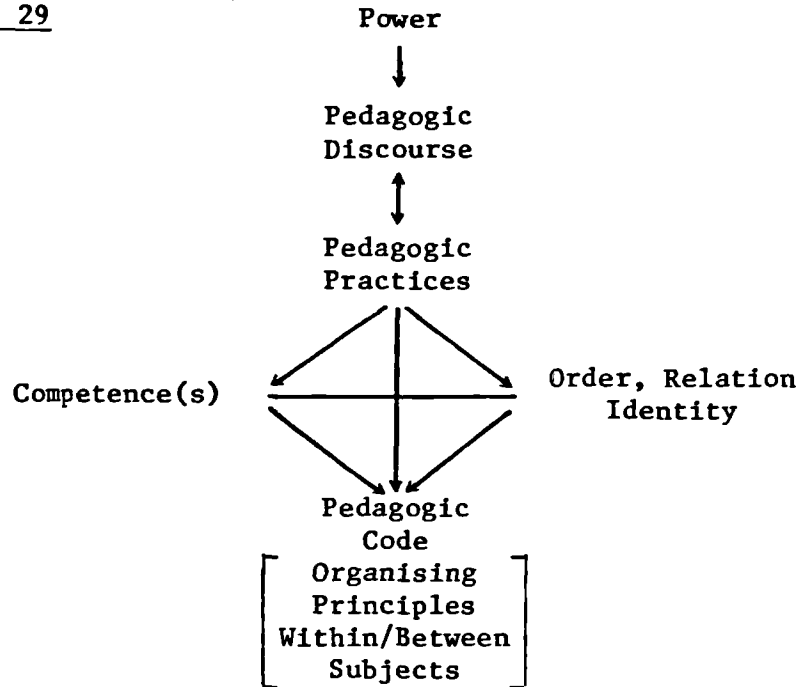
Figure 28

Disciplinary coercion in Foucault establishes in the body the constricting link between an increased aptitude and an increased domination.

What Bernstein's pedagogic device does is to establish a link within the subject between the development of a competence and a specific required conduct (or behaviour in Durkheimian terms). In other words, the pedagogic device is the regulative means of imbedding within the individual, order in competence (and vice versa).¹² However, the pedagogic device (PD) does not dissociate power from the subject but attempts to transform, through pedagogic practices, a given distribution of power into specific organising principles which position subjects into unequal power (class) relations, but which also creates the possibility of change in such positioning (see Figure 29).

12. Both discipline and pedagogic practices attempt to regularise behaviour. We see here an underlying Durkheimian feature of pedagogic practice and discipline. They function as means of moralisation/normalisation.

Figure 29



How does discipline and pedagogic practices work? Both discipline and pedagogic practices act selectively on space. They divide, differentiate and arrange the classification of space. They organise a space which can be at once architectural, functional and hierarchical. But while for Foucault the internal organisation of the space depends on the principle of elementary partitioning into regular units (1977:143), for Bernstein it depends on the principle of classification and its internal values intrinsic to PD. Discipline and pedagogic practices also act selectively on time by controlling the time and timing of activity, and by organising the time of instruction and acquisition: both break down what is to be learned into specific units of acquisition, both hierarchise individual development into specific stages. In essence, we find a similarity in the techniques of disciplines (as described in Discipline and Punish) and the principles involved in pedagogic practices. This similarity must be seen as a surface level similarity, which has been described in empirical research.

However, although there are surface similarities crucial differences exist in how practices and disciplines are constituted. Let us refer to them. Recently, Foucault (1982) has defined disciplines as the blocks in which the coordination between three types of relations - power relations, relations of communication and objective capacities - are put into operation. These uneven relations, he adds, are established in different forms, different places, and different occasions constituting disciplines. However, he does not specify the underlying principles regulating these "blocks" in specific practices, nor does he establish a hierarchy between the constituting elements of a given block (although, in his view, a given relationship can be given pre-eminence). When referring to education, he considers that the block capacity-communication-power constitutes a regulated and concerted system. He states: "the activity which ensures apprenticeship and the acquisition of aptitudes or types of behaviour is developed there by means of a whole ensemble of regulated communications (lessons, questions and answers, orders, exhortations, coded signs of obedience, differentiation marks of the "value" of each person and of the levels of knowledge) and by the means of a whole series of power processes (enclosure, surveillance, reward and punishment, the pyramidal hierarchy)" (1982:218).

It seems to us that although the inter-related character of the relationships constituting the block of "disciplines" of education, this reduction appears to be too static and does not involve changes in power relations, in the communicative practices and in the objective competences. Further, from this point of view, it is difficult to explain (even to understand) how power becomes imbedded in the "regulated communications" and how these affect the "objective capacities". In the same way it is difficult to explain how within education this block (power-communication-capacity) can be assigned different modalities which vary according to variations in power (distribution of power) and communications (principles

of control as outlined by Bernstein.

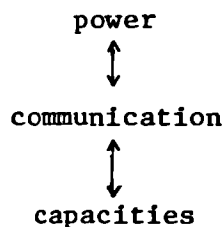
Bernstein's analysis of pedagogic practices also entails the relations between power-communication-capacities, but these relations are more complex and are a function, at the micro-level, of a given distribution of power and principles of control imbedded in the principles intrinsic to the grammar of what he calls the "pedagogic device of reproduction" (Pedagogic discourse). Let us make more explicit this statement. For Bernstein, the constitution/acquisition of competences and regulative order (aptitudes and type of behaviour in Foucault) is realised by means of the whole set of communicative practices, instructional and regulative, which are regulated by specific principles constituting the grammar of the pedagogic device of reproduction. These principles, in turn, may be considered a translation of the distribution of power and principles of control within a given society.

This means that the specific values intrinsic to the grammar of Pedagogic discourse define the modalities of pedagogic practices. Here we find fundamental differences between Bernstein and Foucault. First, power for Bernstein is not "a mode of action upon actions", it does not come from below. Bernstein states: "If power relations are regulated by class relations then class relations position subjects through the principles of classification they establish" (1981:13). Second, power, at the micro-level, is imbedded in the "classificatory principle" which is continuously present in every relation of communication.¹³ Third, what Foucault describes as the "whole series of power processes (enclosure, surveillance ... etc.)" are in Bernstein part of the

13. Although for Foucault power relations may pass through systems of communication, they have a specific nature.

communicative practices (in this case, regulative practices) through which power is maintained, legitimised and reproduced. Fourth, if we look at the communicative practices themselves we find the imbedding of regulative practices in instructional practices and vice versa, and power relations imbedded in both. Finally, the subject is not the terminal point of the exercise of pedagogic practices (disciplines in Foucault). In other words, the objective capacities acquired through disciplines (or as Foucault says, "relayed by external instruments") enables the subject to reproduce but also to interrupt, transform, change and challenge a given distribution of power.

From this perspective, it is possible to reverse the order and relations of Foucault's "blocks" constituting disciplines, from an apparent horizontal level power \longleftrightarrow communication \longleftrightarrow capacities to a vertical and hierarchical level,



through which, at a very descriptive level, we can exemplify the process of reproduction as explained by Bernstein. Communication becomes in this way, the means through which a given distribution of power is legitimised, maintained and reproduced at the level of the subject (capacities), by means of the selection of specific modalities of practice (communicative practices).

If according to Bernstein the grammar of pedagogic device of reproduction $\frac{C/F^{1e}}{C}$ regulates the structure (organisation) of the whole ensemble of interactional, locational communications (as described

by Foucault) an empirical analysis of pedagogic practices is the analysis of specific modalities given by the values of the grammar of Pedagogic discourse (pedagogic device). More explicitly, a modality of practice is a given realisation of the grammar of Pedagogic discourse. In turn, changes in the values of the grammar of PD may be considered to be a function of the values selected by the principles of control (within a given society) which, in turn, are the means of reproduction of a given distribution of power.

If we apply this analysis (based upon the distinction between grammar and its modalities of realisation) to the analysis of Foucault's discipline perhaps we can see the possibility of explaining variations in, and structural and historical transformations of disciplines (e.g. from discipline-blockade to discipline-mechanism). These changes or variations, now can be seen as related to changes/variations in the distribution of power and principles of control. In the same way, it is possible to illustrate variations in the principles and rules intrinsic to Foucault's discipline (principle of enclosure, rules of functional sites, elaboration of the act, panoptic principle, etc.) with respect to changes in the values of the grammar of the pedagogic device (Pedagogic discourse).

From this perspective, we can consider discipline as a modality given by the specific values of the grammar intrinsic to the pedagogic device, not as a type of power but as a modality of practice (control) imbedding and reproducing a given distribution of power. In other words, discipline (pedagogic practices) can be considered as the surface realisations of an underlying grammar intrinsic to Pedagogic discourse, behind which lie power/control relations.

In brief, the surface similarity between disciplines and pedagogic

practices cannot be sustained except at a purely descriptive level. The underlying (epistemological) conception in Bernstein and Foucault differs as each author analyses disciplinary practices within a different theoretical/methodological framework. Foucault's mapping of discipline rests upon his "genealogical method" which assume that "there is not things underlying appearance".¹³ From this point of view his task has been to look for the "disparate set of tools or methods" constituting disciplines within different institutions. The genealogical perspective has implications for the analysis of power and the subject that we have briefly described in preceding pages. Foucault concentrates himself in what we can call the micro-process of power and in the analysis of its dynamics, the "micro-physics of power". Bernstein's analysis of pedagogic practices rests, in our view, upon a structuralist/generative perspective according to which there is a relation between underlying structures (principles, rules relations) and surface realisations. By focusing on how the distribution of power and principles of control are transformed at the level of the subject Bernstein is concerned with the explanation of how power becomes inbedded in principles and rules intrinsic to discourses through which modalities of pedagogic practice (surface realisations) are regulated. Bernstein's elaboration of Pedagogic discourse constitutes, from this perspective, an attempt to gain insight into the grammar of a pedagogic device of reproduction, which articulates the macro-power relations with the micro-realisations of control. In this

13. Foucault states: "This research activity which one can call Genealogical, has nothing to do with an opposition between the abstract unit of the theory and the concrete multiplicity of facts." Geneology, in his view, avoids the search for depth, but it seeks the surface of the events, small details, minor shifts and subtle contours. See Foucault (1980a).

sense, there is in Bernstein a different view of the dynamics of how power works, which does not exclude but which articulates the macro- and micro-relations through a whole set of transformations (recontextualising).

Throughout this thesis we have attempted to trace, from Bernstein's perspective, the dynamic intrinsic to Pedagogic discourse in the regulation of pedagogic practices of reproduction. In order to realise this task a model of analysis was provided, developed and empirically explored. Finally, the model (submodels) produces not only an analysis of Pedagogic discourse, but generates possibilities for the description of its regulative practices (surface realisations). In this sense, the model generates specific descriptions of pedagogic practices as a set of possibilities of the fundamental grammar of Pedagogic discourse.

The model points to the crucial function of the process of recontextualising and its underlying principles, practices and fields. In contemporary educational systems we can distinguish at least four possible levels of recontextualising. Tentatively, we could suggest that a crucial index of relative autonomy would be given by the State's regulation of the principles and practices, agencies and agents of the recontextualising process. We shall outline the four levels of recontextualising. Each level regulates the ideological positioning of the transmitter(s)/acquirer(s). From this perspective the grammar is a device for generating the ideological practices of transmitters/acquirers.

Level I. The specific modality of the grammar initially entails a recontextualising of discourses/practices from other fields of discourses and practices (first recontextualising). It

becomes a matter of importance to examine the location, conditions and degree of relative autonomy of the recontextualising process and the dynamics of the interactions between levels.

Level II. Realisations of the grammar in the reproduction of the transmitter, that is, positioning of the transmitter as an acquirer of the transmission (second recontextualising).

Level III. Realisation and reproduction of the grammar of the transmitter in the relations of transmission and acquisition in the context of the school (third recontextualising).

Level IV. The positioning of the consciousness of the acquirer (fourth recontextualising), arising out of the inter-relations between the positioning of the acquirer through the ideological transformations of the grammar (four recontextualising practices) and the previous positioning of the acquirers' practices within the family/peer group relations (external to the school).

These relations can be schematised as follows: (Figure 30).

In essence, we have attempted to show how Pedagogic discourse is a complex and specialised device of cultural reproduction constituted by a specialised positioning grammar whose rules and transformations rather than autonomous and animated by an autonomous subject, are set by class relations or equivalent dominant principles. If this is the case, has Pedagogic discourse its own voice? is its grammar neutral? or is it a medium through which dominating voices speak? An answer could be given: Pedagogic discourse is limited by the world in which it exists and by the social positioning of those speaking for and through it.

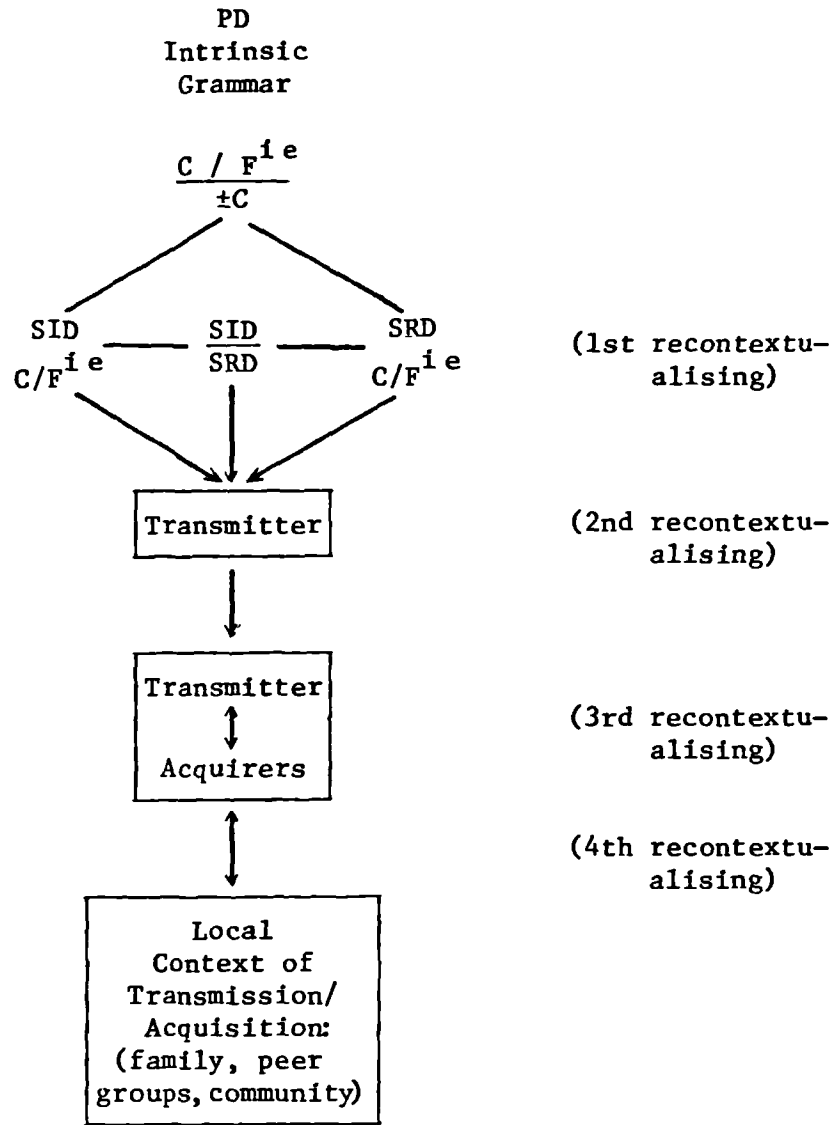


Figure 30

Bibliography

- Bernstein, B. (1977) Class, Codes and Control: Vol. 3. Towards a Theory of Educational Transmissions, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bernstein, B. (1981) "Codes, Modalities and the Process of Cultural Reproduction: A Model", Anglo American Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1.
- Bernstein, B. (1982) "On the Circulation of Pedagogic Texts". Department of Educational Research, Stockholm Institute of Education.
- Bernstein, B., Seminars.
- Deleuze, G. (1975) "Ecrivain non: un nouveau cartographe", Critique, 1975.
- Foucault, M. (1971) L'Ordre du Discours, Paris: Gallimard.
- Foucault, M. (1972) The Archaeology of Knowledge, London: Tavistock Publications. (Originally published in French in 1969.)
- Foucault, M. (1973) The Birth of the Clinic, London: Tavistock Publications. (Originally published in French in 1963.)
- Foucault, M. (1977) Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison: Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books. (Originally published in French in 1975.)
- Foucault, M. (1978) "Politics and the Study of Discourse", Ideology and Consciousness, Spring 1978 (3). (Originally published in French in 1968.)
- Foucault, M. (1980) "Truth and Power" in Gordon, C. (ed.) (1980), Michel Foucault: Power/Knowledge, Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977, Brighton: The Harvester Press Ltd. (Originally published in French in 1977.)
- Foucault, M. (1980a) "Two Lectures" in Gordon, C. (ed.) (1980), Michel Foucault: Power/Knowledge, Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977, Brighton: The Harvester Press Ltd. (Given in French in 1976.)
- Foucault, M. (1981) The History of Sexuality: Volume One. An Introduction, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books. (Originally published in French in 1976.)
- Foucault, M. (1982) "The Subject and Power" in Dreyfus, H.L. and Rabinow, P. (1982), Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics. With an Afterword by Michel Foucault. Brighton: The Harvester Press.

Poulantzas, N. (1978) State, Power, Socialism, London: NLB.

Sheridan, A. (1980) Michel Foucault: The Will to Truth, London:
Tavistock Publications.

APPENDIX ONE

Bernstein's Use of the Concepts of Instructional and Regulative Discourse

The distinction between instructional and regulative discourse in Bernstein clearly has its origin in Parsons's distinction between instrumental and expressive. Parsons states: "Indeed it is in relation to the differentiation of the relational contexts, both of instrumental and of expressive activities, that the most fundamental regulative problems of the social system arise and that regulative institutions are primarily focused" (Parsons, 1951:89). For Parsons, instrumentalities have their origin in economic theory, particularly Adam Smith's "division of labour": "The starting point is the conception of a given actor's ego as instrumentally oriented to the attainment of a goal, a goal which may be of any desired specificity or generality" (*ibid.*, p. 70). Expressive activities, on the other hand, are fundamental to instrumental and are organised "in terms of a cultural pattern of value orientations" (*ibid.*, p. 75). Expressive activities are concerned with relations to ordering principles, to solidarity with and loyalty and commitment to these principles. In "The School Class as a Social System: Some of its Functions in American Society" Parsons (1959) although not explicitly using concepts of instrumental and expressive activities distinguishes between two axis, an axis of integration of the level of collective values (expressive) and an axis of achievement (instrumental). In Family: Socialisation and Interaction (Parsons, Bale, *et al.*, 1955) Parsons distinguishes between instrumental and expressive roles and indicates that these may well be specialised to gender. The instrumental roles regulate (mediate) practices between systems (male)

and the expressive roles regulates values orientations internal to a system (female). We are not concerned here with the usefulness or otherwise of these distinctions but to show their relation to Bernstein. The latter first uses these terms in the paper "Sources of Consensus and Disaffection in Education" (1966a in 1977) where he distinguishes not between roles or activities but between instrumental and expressive cultures (later, orders) within the school. The former is concerned with "facts, procedures and judgements involved in the acquisition of specific skills" and the latter is concerned with standard of "conduct, character and manner". The tensions and conflicts between these "cultures/orders" are further analysed in the paper "Ritual in Education" (1966b). In Bernstein's more specific socio-linguistic work, he distinguishes between four generalised contexts of socialisation of which two major contexts are "regulative" concerned with "authority relationships where the child is made aware of the rules of the moral order and their various backings", and the "instructional context" where "the child learns about the objective nature of objects, persons, and acquirers' skills of various kinds" (1974:181). However, it is only in Pedro, E.F. (1981) Social Stratification and Classroom Discourse that the beginnings of a model is taken over from Bernstein in which the latter defines "instructional discourse" in terms of "the principles of the specific discourse to be transmitted and acquired" and "regulative discourse" as "the principles whereby the social relations of transmission and acquisition are constituted, maintained, reproduced and legitimated" (p. 207). Thus, instructional discourse is concerned with the transmission/acquisition of specific competences and regulative discourse is concerned with the transmission of principles of order, relation and identity.

However, behind these distinctions can be found concepts of

mechanical and organic solidarity as developed in Durkehim, where mechanical solidarity is concerned with the principles of "similar to" and organic solidarity refers to the principles of "different from".

In Durkheim's analysis of the evolution of Pedagogy in France (lectures post-humously published as L'Evolution Pedagogic en France (1938) and in English as The Evolution of Educational Thought (1977)), we can interpret the Trivium as constituting the discursive principles of mechanical solidarity subject to shifts of internal emphasis and conflicts arising out of the developing bourgeoisie; and Quadrivium in its specialised separated discourses, astronomy, arithmetic, geometry and music, pointing to the development of, the historically much later, organic solidarity. Whereas in Moral Education (1925; English version, 1973) a set of lectures for school teachers, Durkheim is concerned essentially with the regulative discourse ... of the school. In The Evolution of Educational Thought, a set of lectures for aggregation candidates, Durkheim analyses the history and development between disciplines, practices and moralities of education, and their external regulations. Durkheim concerned himself, in these lectures, with two fundamental questions: "How the institution of the school came to be formed and how these schools came to be differentiated from the Church." However, the context Durkheim created for himself to answer these questions was nothing less than an institutional history of the form and content of education.

Alexander, J.C. (1982) in The Antinomies of Classical Thought: Marx and Durkheim considers that "Although Durkheim devoted a great deal of time to the discussion of the relative value of different educational ideas per se, his sociological analysis of the evolution

of the educational content is less systematic than his history of educational structure" (p. 285).

It may well be that Bernstein, in deriving part of his perspective from Durkheim also places his emphasis more on the form than upon the content. Although we can trace Bernstein's conceptualising of PD back to Durkheim, it is equally as important to point out that he is concerned to show the inter-relations between dominant power relations and principles of control in the constitution, transmission and evaluation of Pedagogic discourse.

Bibliography

Alexander, J.C. (1982) The Antinomies of Classical Thought: Marx and Durkheim, Vol. 2, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Bernstein, B. (1966a) "Sources of Consensus and Disaffection in Education", Journal of the Association of Assistant Mistresses, Vol. 17, pp. 4-11. (Longer version in Class, Codes and Control, Vol. 3, 1977.)

Bernstein, B. (1966b) "Ritual in Education", Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, Series B. 251, No. 772. (In Class, Code and Control, Vol. 3, 1977.)

Bernstein, B. (1974) Class, Codes and Control: Vol. 1. Theoretical Studies Towards a Sociology of Language, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Durkheim, E. (1973) Moral Education: A Study in the Theory and Application of the Sociology of Education, New York: The Free Press.

Durkheim, E. (1977) The Evolution of Educational Thought: Lectures on the Formation and Development of Secondary Education in France, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. (Originally published in French in 1938.)

Parsons, T. (1951) The Social System, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Parsons, T. (1959) "The School Class as a Social System: Some of its Functions in American Society", Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 29 Fall 1959), pp. 297-318.

Parsons, T., Bales, F. et al. (1955) Family: Socialization and Interaction Process, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.

Pedro, E.R. (1981) Social Stratification and Classroom Discourse: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Classroom Practice. Department of Educational Research, Stockholm Institute of Education.

APPENDIX TWO

A Concise History of Primary Education in Official Discourse

In this appendix we will try to describe briefly the official regulations which historically have defined the educational discourse, practice and organisation of the primary level of education.

It is through the State Official discourse on primary education that we have access to its structure and historical transformations. Our concern in this appendix will be with those official texts that have given a legal codified status to the discourse, practice and organisation of the primary level of education. We consider Official discourse as creating and giving legal status to the specialising of objects, subjects, practices and areas of regulation at the primary level of education.

These features of Official discourse are the means whereby power is exercised by ruling groups who control the power structure of the Colombian State. As the social composition of these dominant power groups has been relatively constant since the beginning of this century there has been little change in the values and in the institutional patterns of the primary level of education and, thus, little disturbance in its basic messages.

Within the vast range of official texts on primary education we find those concerned with the organisation of knowledge, those concerned with pedagogic subjects (teachers/pupils as objects of the Official discourse) and those concerned with sites of reproduction, systems of norms, types of classification of pupils, etc. It is important to remark that we will be dealing with discursive constructions which provide the

orientations required by the State and which are expected to be realised in the articulation of the specific discourse, practices and sites of reproduction.

To begin with, the legitimization and legal basis of the State's intervention in primary education was created by the National Constitution which in its Article 41 states: "Freedom of teaching is guaranteed. The State, however, will have the supreme right to inspection and supervision of private and public schools in order to procure the achievement of the cultural goals and the intellectual, moral and physical training of pupils. Primary education financed through public funds will be free and non-compulsory." Article 120 of the National Constitution gives the President the following power: "to regulate, conduct and inspect national public education."

We find in Law 39 of 1903 and Decree 491 of 1904¹ the basis and limits of primary education in Colombia. Thus, Article No. 1 of Law 39 states: "Public instruction in Colombia will be organised and directed according to the Catholic Religion." With respect to primary education, Law 39 required that all children should acquire the "elementary notions". It also demanded their preparation for the exercise of citizenship, for the awakening and encouraging of their love for the Fatherland (Uribe, 1927), and their preparation for agriculture, industry and commerce.²

Decree 491 introduced a set of regulations amongst which we should note the following:

-
1. See MEN (1959), pp. 9-14 and 17-41.
 2. Also see Lebot (1972) and Casallas (1956).

- a. regulation of inspection: this can be considered the legal means of coercion and ideological domination for the maintenance of the Official Pedagogic Code
- b. regulation of the areas of education and instruction: moral education, intellectual education, civic education and physical education;
- c. regulation of the curriculum for the rural schools and for the urban schools;
- d. regulation of textbooks;
- e. regulation of teachers' behaviour and competence.

These are the most important features through which Official discourse established its regime of control.

Law 56 of 1927³ reformed the non-compulsory character of primary education. In the attempt to abolish illiteracy articles of this Law made primary education compulsory.

We can observe that although the right to education was given a statutory basis the allocation of physical resources, the existence of qualified teachers and the distribution of schools was totally inadequate. Paradoxically, the Ministry of Education complained about the neglect of primary education (Memoria, 1927). As effective access of children to primary school was almost impossible the minimum education demand by official regulations was almost impossible to attain. We find here a great gap between the Official discourse and its practical realisations.⁴

3. See Law 56 of 1927 in MEN, 1959:67-69.

4. Decree 1790 of 1930 also obliged parents to provide for a minimum of education for their children. See MEN, 1959:86-88.

Decree 1487 of 1932 reformed the curriculum programmes and length of primary schooling. This Reform redefined the difference between urban and rural schools. They were now unified on the basis of a four-year common curriculum. Grades five and six were transformed into what was called "the complementary school" oriented to different occupations and arts, and with a specific official curriculum.⁵ These schools were organised for those pupils of the working class who would not continue to secondary education (Decree 1487, Article 2).⁶

However, despite the official abolition of the differences between rural and urban school programmes and schooling periods, these differences persisted in practice. Lebot, I. (1972) considers that the four years of primary school for rural children continued to be a utopian goal. No school buildings were provided, lack of teachers and lack of qualified teachers, both contributed to maintain the status quo. This can be seen in the high rate of illiteracy even up to 1938 (46.8%

-
5. Parallel to the official changes in the curriculum, there were official changes in pedagogy. The method of the "Centros de Interes" was introduced, together with specific programmes for primary and secondary education. This, created, in the view of Casallas (1956) serious problems, because of the lack of training and of qualification of teachers. For details of these programmes, see MEN (1935; 1937).
 6. The State created the "complementary school" because of the social and economic conditions of the working class: "The social and economic conditions of the working class, and of the peasants, are so inadequate and so evident, that there is no need to prove that a pupil abandoned by the State, when he finishes the primary school, loses automatically any possibility of intellectual progress and enters immediately the labour market or family labour" (Memoria, 1936). The complementary school however very early created discrimination between those who did go on to the secondary level, and those who were excluded from social and educational mobility.

of the population).⁷

The 1950 legislation retained the earlier discrimination between rural and urban schools. Decree 3468 introduced a new curriculum and curriculum programmes⁸ and the primary school was divided into:

- a. alternate rural school with two years of study;⁹
- b. single sex rural school with four years of study;
- c. urban school, with five years of study.

In referring to this new simplified form of primary education which legitimated curriculum differences, Lebot stated: "one can say that this law confirmed an actual situation, as preceding governments had not achieved either the elimination of discrimination nor the unification of the educational system" (Lebot, 1973:132).

-
7. The deterioration of educational conditions during this period, especially, with respect to the primary school, the quality of primary teachers, and in the qualifying and training of teachers can be seen in the Memorias of the Ministry of education, and in other texts. See, for example, Memoria, 1935, 1936, 1940. Also, see Zalamea (1938) and MEN (1941).
 8. The new programmes for the primary school were characterised by the adjustment of rural teaching to the problems of the countryside (the rural school gave importance to housework for girls and manual rural labours for boys in the urban school agricultural practices and home economics were also taught but preference was given to "formative" subjects (religion, history, civics and conduct) (Decree 3468 of 1950 and Resolution 2402/1950).
 9. The alternate school functioned in the following form: half a day with boys and half a day with girls (or one day boys and one day girls). This reduced the schooling period to one year. In 1957 (Decree 2031) the Military Junta extended the regime of alternate schools to most of the rural and urban schools, not only to try to solve educational demands of the population, but to conform with the demands of the UNESCO's Plan of extension of primary education in Latin America.

In 1963, Decree 1710 reorganised primary education according to the lines established since 1957, when a special commission to review the primary school curriculum and structure was created. This decree prescribed the establishment of a single school of five years of study and abolished the differences in curriculum and time between urban and rural schools.

Finally, in the context of the educational reform proposed in the "Plan de desarrollo social, economico y regional" 1975-1978, called "Para cerrar la Brecha" (to close the gap), primary education was now centrally administrated (Law 43/1975).¹⁰ The educational system and the Ministry of Education were reformed and new regulations for the administration of the curriculum of primary education were created. The programme of "curricular experimentation" required by this reform constituted a new attempt to improve primary education.

This brief history reveals the rhetoric of Official discourse. Laws are constantly made, changed and remade whilst the practices remains unchanged.

10. See DNP (1975).

Bibliography*

Casallas, B. (1956) La Evolucion Educativa en Colombia, Bogota: Cultural Colombiana.

Departamento Nacional de Planeacion, DNP (1975) Para Cerrar la Brecha. Plan de Desarrollo Social, Economico y Regional, Bogota: Ediciones del Banco de la Republica.

Lebot, I. (1972) "Elementos para la Historia de la Educacion en Colombia en Siglo XX" In DANE, Boletin Mensual de Estadistica, 249, pp. 123-161.

Memoria (1927) Memorial del Ministro de Educacion al Congreso de 1927, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional.

Memoria (1935) Memoria del Ministro de Educacion al Congreso de 1935, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional.

Memoria (1936) Memoria del Ministro de Educacion al Congreso de 1936, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional.

Memoria (1940) Memoria del Ministro de Educacion al Congreso de 1940, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1935) El Texto de los Programas de Primera y Segunda Enseñanza, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1937) Conferencia de Directores de Educacion, Agosto 1937, Bogota.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1941) La Escuela Normal, Publicacion del Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, Segunda Epoca, Bogota.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1959) Educacion Colombiana Tomo I, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional.

Uribe, A.J. (1927) "Prologo" en Instruccion Publica: Disposiciones Vigentes, Exposiciones de Motivos, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional, pp. X-XXXVIII.

Zalamea, J. (1938) La Educacion Nacional en Colombia, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional.

* For Laws, Decrees and Resolutions, see Bibliography, Section 2. Colombia.

APPENDIX THREE

International Influences Upon National Policy for Primary Education

The basis for the ideology of planning in the fifties and sixties in Colombia had its origins in (1) the attempt to reduce the gap between the demands of production and the outputs of education, and (2) the attempts to reduce the tension and conflict arising out of a combination of strong social stratification and educational backwardness. These attempts were, basically, promoted by international agencies through the means of technical assistance and cooperation.

The contents of the development demands realised in the set of proposals for educational change were shaped by the ideology of planning. This constituted an important instrument for the institutionalising of a new modality of organisation of the forms of transmission/reproduction of the dominant principles. This ideology was embodied in Pedagogic discourse, itself a construction essentially concerned with the regulation of the practices of educational reproduction.

The concept of planning combined an attempt to harmonise the stability of the social order inherent in the dominant principles with the pressures generated by the demands of economic development. In this way, economic development could take place without creating major contradictions with the dominant principles and without introducing new sources of conflict and instability.

The institutionalising of educational planning was a new device for the State's regulation of the educational system. It also constituted an attempt to rationalise, and to make more organised and

centralised, the control on the systemic relations between education and production. It is from this perspective that we can understand how the demands for development became articulated with changes in Pedagogic discourse, practice and organisation of the educational system.

The most important features that contributed to reshape Pedagogic discourse within the planning ideology can be described as follows:

a. The UNESCO regional conference on free and compulsory education

This was organised in Lima in 1956, parallel to another meeting held under the joint auspices of UNESCO and of the Organisation of American States (OAS), a Seminar on Primary Education Curriculum. The UNESCO conference considered "that social and economic progress of nations presupposed a necessary development of education" and recommended Latin American governments "to coordinate educational plans especially those concerning the expansion of free and compulsory primary education with plans of economic and social improvement." It also recommended plans to expand primary education taking into account statistical, geographical and cultural aspects of the population, number of children, necessary materials and pedagogic and human resources. It was at this conference that Latin American Ministers of Education recognised the need for UNESCO to start a Major Project of expansion and improvement of primary education in Latin America.¹

The 9th General Assembly of UNESCO (New Delhi 1956) gave definite

1. A summary of the genesis and scope of the UNESCO Major Project for Primary Education in Latin America can be found in the "Boletín Trimestral del proyecto principal de educación en América Latina, No. 1", Enero-Marzo 1959, and in UNESCO (1960) Third Meeting of the Inter-Governmental Advisory Committee for the Major Project No. 1.

approval to the organisation of a Major Project for the expansion and improvement of primary education in Latin America. The aims were manifold:

1. to promote systematic planning of education in Latin America;
 2. to encourage the expansion of primary education;
 3. to promote the review of primary school curriculum and syllabuses;
 4. to improve the training of teachers and to raise the economic and social status of the teaching profession;²
 5. to form in each Latin American country a group of trained educational leaders and specialists.³
- b. Second inter-American Meeting of Ministers of Education (Lima 1956)

A set of proposals were drawn up in this meeting concerning the planning of education in Latin America. The content of the proposals can be summed up as follows: to prepare educational plans covering all levels and to adapt them to "the needs of the country and to its development"; to establish within the Ministry of Education specific planning agencies with the technical assistance of international agencies; to promote a closer relation between economic and cultural development through the expanding and improving of education; to organise the Ministry

2. These proposals were written in the different regional programmes. In Colombia the proposals emphasising the extension of training schemes for teachers were presented in the "First Five Year Plan".
3. One of the major concerns of the international organisations was the introduction, through the ideology of planning of a body of professional technicians responsible for the guidance and control of the educational system. The proposals for a technically oriented educational system implied changes in the modalities of control of education. External technical cooperation emerged as a means of direct control over the national educational programmes and as a means of ideological and socio-economic and cultural control. For a study of development of Planning in Latin America, see UNESCO (1968).

of Education according to the "principles and modern techniques of public administration".⁴

c. The Colombian First Five-Year Plan for Education (1956-1957)

This report⁵ contained five volumes in which specific guides for educational policy and educational planning for Colombia were given. It is important to describe some of the components constituting the dominant ideological principles of this plan:

1. The report considered that investment in education is the most productive investment for economic, social and cultural development. It stated that economic and cultural backwardness of the country was due to the deficient educational level of the population: "an uneducated mass cannot be participant citizens". Education "should be a means of national integration".
2. Since education is important for society, it must be guided and planned in a scientific and technical way. Educational policy must establish the national objectives of economic and social development, and this implies the scientific analysis of the relations between education and development, technical procedures for establishing priorities and implementation of rational and modern techniques in public administration of education.
3. Foreign help is essential to rapid development of the Colombian educational system.

4. For complete texts of these proposals, see MEN (1959).

5. Our references to this Plan are based on the first volume of the same, Section II, La planeacion educativa, and in MEN (1959), Memoria (1959; 1960; 1961).

As a result of these arguments a vast set of proposals were drawn up. The basic ones were considered with:

1. the introduction of formal educational planning "as the most appropriate way of realising adequate societal guidance and control of the educational system";
2. the reform of the Ministry of Education, the creation of the office for educational planning, and the organisation of pedagogic information and research;
3. the restructuring of what we have called "the context of reproduction" and the reorganisation of its cycles and levels.

With respect to primary education, the proposals were: to abolish the existing system of three different types of school and to replace them by the single primary school; to expand primary education by creating schools and teachers; to improve primary education by reviewing its curriculum and establishing new pedagogic methods and by improving the training of teachers.⁶

- d. Inter-American Seminar on Integral Planning of Education
(Washington 1958)

During this meeting a new notion of planning was presented: that of integral planning. It presupposed the articulation of a body of

6. As far as training of primary school teachers is concerned, the major innovation during this period was the reform of the Normal schools in 1963. The First Five-Year Plan also recommended the organisation of training of teachers in service. The means adopted by the Ministry of Education for the training of in-service primary school teachers was the creation of a special institute, INCADELMA (Instituto de Capacitation del Magistario). ON INCADELMA, see Memoria 1959, pp. 142-148; Memoria (1960), pp. 84-97, Memoria (1963). On the reform of Normal Schools, see Memoria, 1964.

principles (economic, administrative and educational) and methods of social research for the planning of education. Integral planning considered education as a fundamental aspect of cultural and economic development. Thus, education had to be organised as an articulated system of cycles, levels and types, able to respond efficiently to the demands for cultural and economic development. Thus "democratic" notions of "integral planning" as defined in the seminar proposed "to give specialists the technical responsibility for the organisation of planning, under the authority of the State."⁷

It was assumed the integral planning:

1. strengthens national unity and attempts to create a rationalised extension of education to all sectors;
2. strengthens the linking of units, reduces tensions and inequalities;
3. constitutes a solution to the educational problem of each country;
4. makes the educational system an instrument of progress;
5. creates lines of delegation and authority;
6. enhances the possibilities of technical assistance by international agencies. (MEN, 1959:27).

The Inter-American Seminar on Integral Planning formulated a set of proposals in order to shape the structural and pedagogic changes of Latin American educational systems. The pedagogic proposals gave priority to the following aspects:

1. to restructure the educational system;
2. to review plans and programmes of study (curricula and syllabuses);
3. to train teachers, supervisors and administrative personnel according to the new plans and programmes;

7. For definition and purposes of Integral Planning, see MEN (1959).

4. to improve teaching methods;
5. to establish pedagogic norms about textbooks, publications and audiovisual materials, furniture, school materials and school buildings;
6. to orient and improve pedagogic research. In relation to this proposal, the seminar recommended the creation of institutions and organisations devoted to the study of pedagogic, sociological and psychological problems. The seminar also recommended the giving of more importance to educational research into the plans and programmes of teachers training.

e. Alliance for Progress

Launched in 1961 in Punta del Este (Uruguay) presented an educational programme considered a fundamental means of economic and social development. Its basic educational objectives may be synthesised as follows:⁸

1. to offer at least six years of elementary education, free and compulsory for the Latin American population;
2. carrying out of systematic adult-education campaigns, directed towards community development, training of manpower, and cultural extension;
3. to promote vocational education;
4. carrying out of studies to determine the varied needs for qualified manpower in industrial development, agricultural development, and others;
5. to provide accelerated training of workers and farmers.

The description of these events shows the extent of increasing

8. See Pan American Union (1967); Perloff (1969); Puigros (1980).

dependence of the State in the organisation and in the realisation of the policy of educational change upon international influences.⁹ As planning was legitimated as a required means to shape the form, content and functioning of specific pedagogic practices and organisation of the context of reproduction, it is possible to argue that State activity was to provide the ideological discursive mechanisms, in the form of specific Pedagogic discourse to implement such changes. From this schematic formulation we can say that Pedagogic discourse entailed the application of more technical and ideological strategies of social control, and was shaped in close relation with this international educational strategies.

In brief, we consider that the role of the USA, through its international agencies has been to provide not only economic resources but to provide both a legitimation of, and theoretical and ideological basis for, a technology of education which embraces bureaucratic principles of organisation, the development of a new cadre of official pedagogic agents, theories of instruction and evaluation. In other words, a technology of the administration, transmission and evaluation of education. Thus, technology introduces a new modality of educational reproduction in Colombia.

9. In this respect, see UNESCO-AID-IBRD (1963); Gooden, H. (1965).

Bibliography

- Gooden, H. (1965) The Education of Elementary Teachers in the Colombian Primary School. An Analysis and Recommendations for Planning, Bogota: UNESCO-AID-IBRD.
- Memoria (1959) Memoria del Ministro de Educacion al Congreso de 1959, Bogota; Imprenta Nacional (1959).
- Memoria (1960) Memoria del Ministro de Educacion al Congreso de 1960, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional (1960).
- Memoria (1961) Memoria del Ministro de Educacion al Congreso del 1961, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional (1961).
- Memoria (1963) Memoria del Ministro de Educacion al Congreso de 1963, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional (1964).
- Memoria (1964) Memoria del Ministro de Educacion al Congreso de 1964, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional (1965).
- Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1959) Planeamiento Integral de la Educacion, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional.
- Pan American Union (1967) The Alliance for Progress and the Latin American Development Prospects, Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press.
- Perloff, H.S. (1969) Alliance for Progress: A Social Invention in the Making, Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press.
- Puigros, A. (1980) Imperialismo y Educacion en America Latina, Mexico: Editorial Nueva Imagen.
- UNESCO (1959) "Proyecto Principal de Educacion en America Latina", Boletin Trimestral del Proyecto Principal de Educacion en America Latina, No. 1, Enero-Marzo (1959).
- UNESCO-AID-IBRD (1963) Recommendations for Educational Planning. A Report presented by the representatives of UNESCO-AID-IBRD Mission to the Ministry of Education, Bogota.
- United Nations-ECLA (1968) Education, Human Resources and Development in Latin America, New York: United Nations Publications.

APPENDIX FOUR

Administrative Changes of the 1976 Reform

In this appendix we will set out the major administrative changes introduced by the 1976 Reform. These were:

a. Reorganisation of the Ministry of Education

The reorganisation of the Ministry of Education as a power structure within the State led to the creation of more specialised agencies with more specific functions. By creating more Administrative and Pedagogic Agencies, or units of control, the Ministry of Education strengthened its power, influence and control over the processes of educational reproduction. These Administrative and Pedagogic Agencies are known as "Units of Action and Control" and were divided into three main Directions, each one with its specific Divisions. They are (according to Decree 088 of 1976):

(a) General Direction of Administrative and Educational Inspection, composed of:

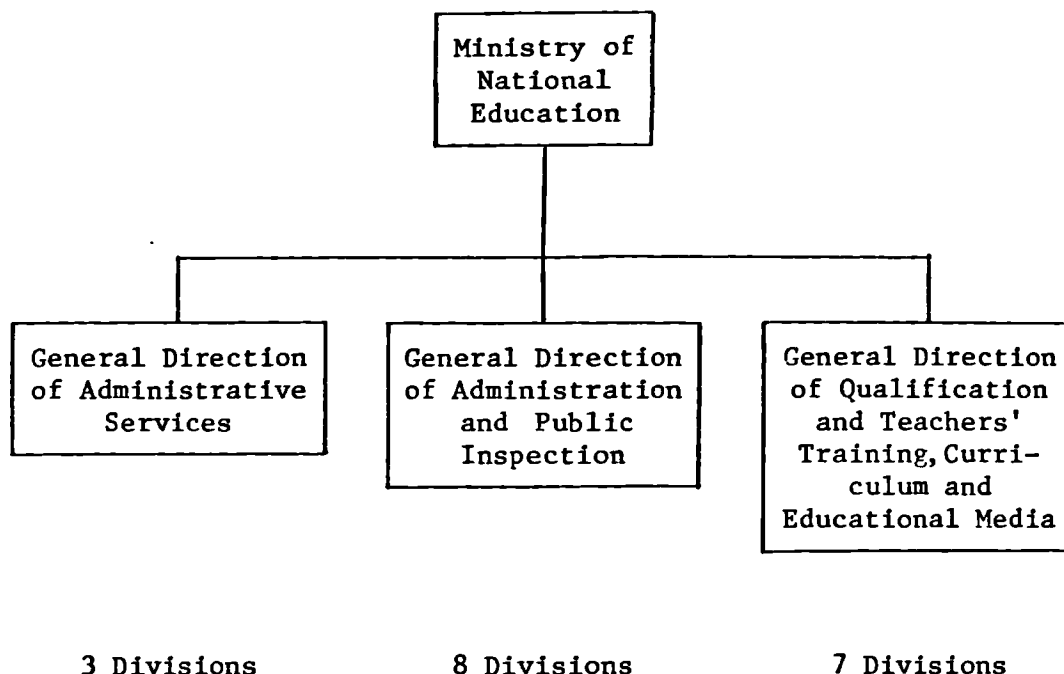
1. Division of Basic Primary Education;
2. Division of Basic Secondary Education;
3. Division of Middle Vocational Education;
4. Division of Intermediate Professional Education;
5. Special Division of Diversified Middle Education;
6. Division of Pre-School and Special Education;
7. Division of Promotion of Cooperative Schools;
8. Division of Non-Formal and Adult Education.

- (b) General Direction of Qualification and Teachers' Training, Curriculum and Educational Media, composed of:
1. Division of Design and Curricular Programming of Formal Education;
 2. Division of Design and Curricular Programming of Non-Formal Education;
 3. Division of Educational Media;
 4. Division of Media for Distance Education;
 5. Division of Documentation and Educational Information;
 6. Division of Coordination of Pilot Experimental Centres (Pilot Schools);
 7. Division of Evaluation of Educational Achievement.

- (c) General Direction of Administrative Services composed of:
1. Division of Personnel;
 2. Division of Financing;
 3. Division of Coordination of Regional Educational Funds (FER).
(Specific functions on these Divisions can be seen in Decree 088/1976 in UNP (1976:31-45).) Also see MEN (1979:3-7).

We can see in the reorganisation of the Ministry of Education a shift towards a more complex and specialised division of labour. From this point (division of labour) we will distinguish the "Administrative Agencies" from the "Pedagogic Agencies". The creation of specialised agencies responsible for the recontextualising of educational discourse was sited within the Ministry of Education which now had greater organisational control over pedagogic practices. The presence of these recontextualising agencies created a strong classification between "recontextualisers" and "reproducers" of knowledge. We will refer to the Pedagogic Agencies and their practices later.

COLOMBIA



b. Reorganisation of the Levels of the Educational System

Following the recommendations of different international conferences¹ and those of the educational programmes of preceding governments,² the restructuring of the educational system in its different levels and modalities was proposed, "in order to provide greater internal coherence to the system, and to fit the programmes to the socio-economic context and to the characteristics of the pupils."

-
1. Other conferences, besides those quoted in the first part of this work, are: Conference of Santiago 1962, Conference of Buenos Aires 1966, Conference of Venezuela 1971 (the last emphasised, again, the need for qualitative improvement of education in the countries of the Region Andina). As indicators for the improvement of the quality of education, the following are quoted in this conference: (1) close relation between education and development, (2) education as an element of reinforcement of national consciousness, and (3) training of teachers, MEN (1982); Blat, J. (1979).
 2. See DNP (1972); ILO (1970); Arnove (1975).

Decree 088 of 1976 established the reorganisation of the levels of the educational system as follows:

- Pre-School Education;
- Basic Education (Primary and Secondary);
- Middle and Intermediate Education;
- Higher Education.

The central purpose of the Reform was to close the gap between elementary education and middle education and to produce greater integration between these two levels. Thus, Basic education introduced a whole level of 9 years divided into two stages: Basic primary education with 5 grades, free and compulsory, and Basic secondary education with 4 grades, public and private. Figure 31 describes the different levels and inter-relationships between levels and stages, as defined by Decree 088.

c. Design and Experimentation of New Curricula and Syllabuses (Plans and Programs). The Pedagogic Agencies

If the ultimate purpose of an educational reform is to restructure the experience of schooling, one of the means for the achievement of this purpose is to restructure the organisation of knowledge. One of the objectives of the 1976 Reform, has been the production of new curricula and syllabuses for Basic, Middle and Intermediate levels, providing a closer articulation between the Political directrices and the contents and methods of the curriculum programmes. In order to achieve this purpose the State has created specialised recontextualising agencies responsible for the management of the organisation of the curriculum and syllabuses to be used in the different levels of the educational system. It seems to us justifiable to consider the character of such agencies, as an

Figure 31 Source: MEN, Lineamientos Generales del Curriculum Colombiano

Higher Education				According to Decree 089/76 the ICFES has among its functions to provide technical and administrative assistance to the Universities and to determine the minimum curriculum for professional studies at the higher level. Professional titles and degrees of the higher level will be only conferred or granted by the Universities and by those institutes of higher education recognised by the Ministry of Education.		
Middle and Intermediate Education	Intermediate Professional	13	4	The third egress of the system is produced at the end of the second stage of this level (grades 12 and 13, semesters 1, 2, 3 and 4). The intermediate professional education leads to the title of intermediate professional technician in the corresponding branch of studies. The two stages of this level constitutes a block of four years of schooling. The reform organises within this level a large programme for intermediate careers. Teaching at this stage will be exclusively practical. → This stage - grades 10 and 11 - is organised in 4 semesters (1, 2, 3 and 4). It leads to the title of "BACHILLER" in the corresponding modality. This title creates the possibility of applying to the university, for continuing intermediate professional studies, or for entering the labour market. The SENA has training programmes for those "Bachilleres" who work. The second official egress of the system is produced here.		
			3			
		12	2			
			1			
	Middle Vocational	11	4			
			3			
		10	2			
			1			
	Basic Education	Secondary	9		15 yrs.	Basic Education introduces a whole level of 9 grades and 2 stages. <u>Basic Primary</u> with 5 years, free and compulsory and <u>Basic Secondary</u> with 4 years, public and private. The first official egress of the system is set at the end of Basic education for pupils aged 15 years. After this, they can continue to the Middle Vocational or receive qualification through the SENA. The central purpose of the Reform is to eliminate the gap between elementary education and secondary education, to provide teaching whose objectives have links with life and to guide the pupils' vocation. Basic education is to be offered to all children from 6 years old and to adults who have not received this education
			8			
7						
6						
Primary		5	6 yrs			
		4				
		3				
		2				
Pre-School Education		1	6 yrs			
Level	Stage	Grade	Semester	ICFES: Colombian Institute for the Fomentation of Higher Education SENA: National Job Training Institute		

illustration of the process of control over Pedagogic discourse, over pedagogic practice and over the organisation of what we have called the context of reproduction.

The design and experimentation leading to the new curricula was assigned to the "General Direction of Qualification and Teachers' Training, Curriculum and Educational Media", itself composed of 7 Divisions each one with specialised functions and with specialised agents. The description of the functions of this Direction provides us with the elements for the later analysis of the power/control relations between the recontextualising agencies of the State and the context of reproduction.

It is very important for our analysis to specify the functions of a crucial Pedagogic Agency, the "Division of Design and Curriculum Programming of Formal Education", as stated in Decree 088. These functions may be described as follows:

- a. to design for areas the curricula for Basic primary and secondary, Middle vocational and Intermediate professional education;
- b. to design the curriculum for the qualifying and training of teachers of Pre-school, Basic, Middle and Intermediate education;
- c. to elaborate the syllabuses per areas in which the contents of the curriculum are progressively graded (1st grade to 9th grade, and from 10th grade to 13th grade). The syllabuses must include the objectives, methods, aids and useful media for teaching in the different grades and levels;
- d. to design and elaborate the curriculum for Pre-school education jointly with the Family Welfare Colombian Institute, (ICBF).

- e. to design and programme the curriculum for the training of teachers of Special education and of the Educational colonies;
- f. to design, programme and evaluate the curriculum of indigeneous communities jointly with the members of these communities (ab-originals).

Besides determining the organisation and functions of the agencies referred to above, the State established the power limits of these agencies by regulating and legitimating their "legal frame for design and curriculum administration". It is important that this aspect be clearly described at this stage since we will examine its implications and effects in relation to the concept of relative autonomy. This concept will be also analysed with respect to the relations between the Pedagogic Agencies and the context of reproduction.

The limitations on the Pedagogic Agencies was set up by a Decree in 1978 which established the "basic rules for the administration of curriculum in the Pre-school, Basic (primary and secondary), Middle vocational and Intermediate professional" (Decree 1419/78). Thus, for example, the knowledge/value orientations of the programming of the curriculum "must be in correspondence with the goals of the Colombian educational system" (Decree 1419). The main areas of control by the State which constituted the "legal frame" are the following: The goals of the educational system, the characteristics of the curriculum, the components and characteristics of the syllabuses (curriculum programmes), the characteristics of the curriculum according to levels and, the regulation and adoption of curricula and syllabuses. Thus, through the definition of objectives, the limitation of functions and the regulation of the "legal frame" of action of the "directions" and "divisions" the State controls Pedagogic Agencies.

d. Training of Teachers and the Expansion of the Technology of Education

We have said that the "Programa Nacional de Mejoramiento Cualitativo de la Educacion" entailed a general strategy for the training of teachers. This task was assigned by Decree to the "General Direction of Qualification and Teachers' Training" which through its Divisions has the control of the curricula, the qualifying programmes and the qualifying modalities. "Qualifying" in this context refers to the elimination of techno-pedagogic differences between the previous teachers' pedagogic competence and the requirements of the new curriculum. As the requirements of the new curriculum demand new teacher attitudes, necessary for the realisation of new pedagogic practices, the activities of the Pedagogic Agencies have been directed to specifying a "logical profile" integrating desired attitudes, defining functions and levels of training.

It is important to note that the strategies for the organisation of the programme for the qualifying of teachers oblige the programmers of the "Division of Design and Curriculum programming of Formal Education" to limit themselves to the components and characteristics of the curricular programmes as specified in Decree 1419/78. This meant that the different forms of teachers' training organised by the "Division" must be included within the legal limits established by the Decree. (See MEN, Lineamientos:29-35.)

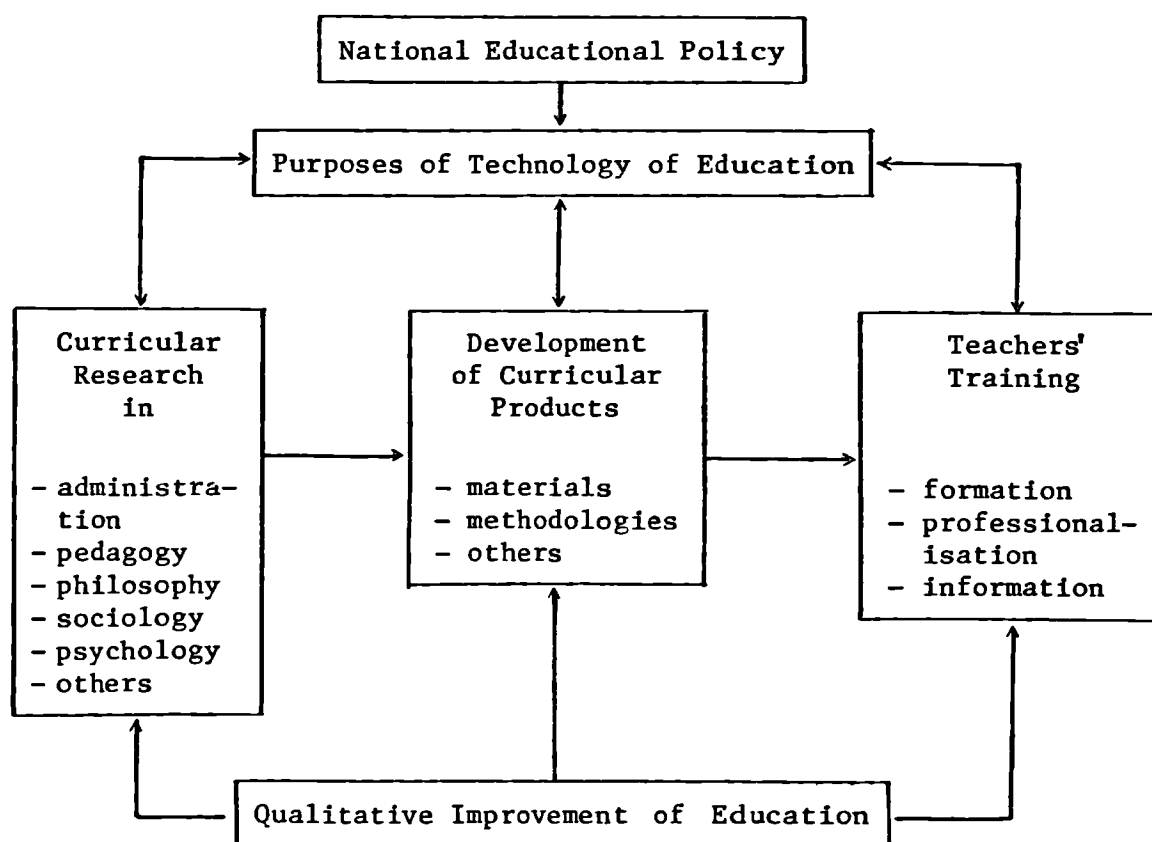
Another important feature to be considered here is that of educational technology, as a means of the qualitative improvement of education. As we have said, during this period the national educational policy of the State, directed by the Ministry of Education was concerned with the "Programa Nacional de Mejoramiento Cualitativo de la Educacion" which integrated three basic actions of the Pedagogic Agencies of the

State: Curriculum changes and research, training of teachers, and production, distribution of educational media for the improvement of pedagogic practices.

The main objective of the programme was that of "improving qualitatively and quantitatively education, by systematising the educational processes through the use and generation of a technology of education, to expand and equalise access to education, especially in rural sectors.³

The following scheme (Figure 32) shows the position of the technology of education in the programme.

Figure 32



Source: MEN, Lineamientos Generales del Curriculum Colombiano.

3. Detailed treatment of Technology of education with respect to the pedagogic reform can be seen in MEN (1977) and MEN (1978).

Bibliography*

Arnove, R. (1975) "Políticas Educativas durante el Frente Nacional 1958-1974", Revista Colombiana de Educación.

Blat, J.J. (1979) La Educación en América Latina y el Caribe en el Último Tercio del Siglo XX (Conferencia Regional de Ministros de Educación Ministros Encargados de la Planificación Económica en los Estados Miembros de América Latina y el Caribe, México: D.F. UNESCO.

Departamento Nacional de Planeación, DNP (1972) Las Cuatro Estrategias Bogotá: Editorial Los Andes.

International Labour Organisation, ILO (1970) Towards Full Employment: A Programme for Colombia, prepared by an Inter-Agency Team organised by the International Labour Office, Geneva, 1970.

Ministerio de Educación Nacional, MEN (1977) Transferencia de Tecnología Educativa en Colombia, Bogotá: Editorial Don Bosco.

Ministerio de Educación Nacional, MEN (1978) Los Fundamentos Teóricos de la Tecnología Educativa en los Programas de Mejoramiento Educativo que adelanta el Ministerio, Bogotá.

Ministerio de Educación Nacional, MEN (1979) Manual de Administración Curricular, Educación Básica Primaria. Dirección General de Capacitación y Perfeccionamiento Docente, Currículo y Medios Educativos, Bogotá.

Ministerio de Educación Nacional, MEN (1982) La Calidad de la Educación Secundaria, Bogotá.

Ministerio de Educación Nacional, MEN (no date) Lineamientos Generales del Currículo Colombiano. Dirección General de Capacitación y Perfeccionamiento Docente, Currículo y Medios Educativos, Bogotá.

Universidad Pedagógica Nacional, UPN (1976) Documentación Educativa, Vol. 3, No. 9, Boletín Trimestral, Bogotá, Imprenta Mineducación.

* For Laws, Decrees and Resolutions, see Bibliography, section b. Colombia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. General

- Adlam, D. et al. (1977) "Psychology, Ideology and the Human Subject", Ideology and Consciousness, No. 1, pp. 5-56.
- Ashead, J. (1981) The Study of Dance, London: Dance Books Ltd.
- Alexander, J.C. (1982) The Antinomies of Classical Thought: Marx and Durkheim: Vol. 2, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Althusser, L. (1971) "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" in Cosin, B.R. (ed.) (1972), Education Structure and Society, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books.
- Apple, M.W. (ed.) (1982) Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Apple, M.W. (1982) "Curricular Form and the Logic of Technical Control" in Apple, M.W. (1982), Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Atkinson, P. (1981) "Bernstein's Structuralism", Educational Analysis, Vol. 3, No. 1.
- Barnes, D. (1969) "Language in the Secondary Classroom" in Barnes, D. et al. (eds.), Language, the Learner and the School, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books.
- Barnes, D. and Shemilt, D. (1974) "Transmission and Interpretation", Educational Review, Vol. 26, No. 3.
- Bennett, S.N. (1976) Teaching Styles and Pupil Progress, London: Open Books.
- Benveniste, E. (1974) Problemes de Linguistique Generale, Vol. II, Paris: Gallimard.
- Bernstein, B. (1966a) "Sources of Consensus and Disaffection in Education", Journal of the Association of Assistant Mistresses, Vol. 17, pp. 4-11. (Longer version in Class, Codes and Control, Vol. 3, 1977.)
- Bernstein, B. (1966b) "Ritual in Education", Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, Series B. 251, No. 772. (In Class, Codes and Control, Vol. 3, 1977.)
- Bernstein, B. (1974) Class, Codes and Control: Vol. 1. Theoretical Studies Towards a Sociology of Language, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

- Bernstein, B. (1977) Class, Codes and Control: Vol. 3. Towards a Theory of Educational Transmissions, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bernstein, B. (1981) "Codes, Modalities and the Process of Cultural Reproduction: A Model", Anglo American Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1.
- Bernstein, B. (1982) "On the Circulation of Pedagogic Texts", Department of Educational Research, Stockholm Institute of Education.
- Bernstein, B. (1982a) "Preface", Educational Analysis, Vol. 3, No. 1.
- Bernstein, B., Seminars.
- Bisseret, N. (1979) Education, Class, Language and Ideology, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Blat, J.J. (1979) La Educacion en America Latina y el Caribe en el Ultimo Tercio del Siglo XX (Conferencia Regional de Ministros de Educacion y de Ministros Encargados de la Planificacion Economica en los Estados Miembros de America Latina y el Caribe. Mexico, D.F. UNESCO.
- Bloom, B.S. et al. (1956) Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, New York: McKay Co., Inc.
- Bobbit, F. (1918) The Curriculum, Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin.
- Bourdieu, P. (1967) "Systems of Education and Systems of Thought" in Young, M.F.D. (1981) Knowledge and Control, London: Macmillan.
- Bourdieu, P. (1968) "Intellectual Field and Creative Project" in Young, M.F.D. (1981), Knowledge and Control, London: Macmillan.
- Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J. (1977) Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture, London: Sage Publications Inc.
- Bourdieu, P. (1980) Questions de Sociologie, Paris: Minuit.
- Bowles, S. and Gintis, H. (1976) Schooling in Capitalist America, New York: Basic Books, Inc.
- Bowles, S. and Gintis, H. (1981) "Contradiction and Reproduction in Educational Theory" in Dale, R. et al. (1981), Schooling and National Interest, Barcome: The Falmer Press.
- Bruner, J. (1966) Toward a Theory of Instruction, London: Oxford University Press.

- Bruner, J. (1974) The Relevance of Education, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books.
- Burton, F. and Carlen, P. (1979) Official Discourse, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Carnoy, M. (1982) "Education, Economy and the State" in Apple, M. (ed.) (1982), Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Collins, R. (1971) "Functional and Conflict Theories of Educational Stratification", American Sociological Review, Vol. 36 (December), pp. 1002-1019.
- Collins, R. (1974) "Where are Educational Requirements for Employment Highest?", Sociology of Education, Vol. 47 (Fall), pp. 419-442.
- Cook-Gumperz, J. (1973) Social Control and Socialisation: A Study of Class Differences in the Language of Maternal Control, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Corey, S.M. (1967) "The Nature of Instruction" in Merrill, D. (ed.) (1971), Instructional Design: Readings, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Coward, R. and Ellis, J. (1977) Language and Materialism: Developments in Semiology and the Theory of the Subject, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Dale, R. et al. (1981) Schooling and the National Interest, Barcombe: The Falmer Press/Open University Books.
- Dale, R. (1982) "Education and the Capitalist State: Contributions and Contradictions" in Apple, M. (ed.) (1982), Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Delamont, S. (1976) Interaction in the Classroom, London: Methuen.
- Deleuze, G. (1975) "Ecrivan non: un nouveau cartographe", Critique.
- Department of Education and Science (1967) Plowden Report, Children and their Primary School, London: HMSO.
- Department of Education and Science (1975) Bullock Report. A Language for Life, London: HMSO.
- Donzelot, J. (1980) The Policing of Families, London: Hutchinson.
- Dore, R. (1976) The Diploma Disease: Education, Qualification and Development, London: George Allen and Unwin.

- Dreeben, R. (1968) On What is Learned in School, Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.
- Dreyfus, H.L. and Rabinow, P. (1982) Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics, Brighton: The Harvester Press Ltd.
- Durkheim, E. (1973) Moral Education: A Study in the Theory and Application of the Sociology of Education, New York: The Free Press. (Originally published in French in 1925.)
- Durkheim, E. (1977) The Evolution of Educational Thought: Lectures on the Formation and Development and Secondary Education in France, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. (Originally published in French in 1938.)
- Edwards, A. (1980) "Patterns of Power and Authority in Classroom Talk" in Woods, P. (ed.) (1980), Teacher Strategies, London: Croom Helm.
- Edwards, A.D. (1982) "The Sociology of Language and Education" in Harnett, A. (ed.) (1982), The Social Sciences in Educational Studies, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Eggleston, J. (1977) The Sociology of the School Curriculum, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Elkind, D. (1976) Child Development and Education: A Piagetian Perspective, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Flanders, N.A. (1970) Analysing Teaching Behaviour, New York: Addison-Wesley.
- Foucault, M. (1971) L'Ordre du Discours, Paris: Gallimard.
- Foucault, M. (1971a) "Au dela du bien et du mal", Actuel, No. 14.
- Foucault, M. (1972) The Archaeology of Knowledge, London: Tavistock Publications. (Originally published in French in 1969.)
- Foucault, M. (1973) The Birth of the Clinic, London: Tavistock Publications. (Originally published in French in 1963.)
- Foucault, M. (1977) Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books. (Originally published in French in 1975.)
- Foucault, M. (1978) "Politics and the Study of Discourse", Ideology and Consciousness, Spring, No. 3. (Originally published in French in 1968.)
- Foucault, M. (1980) "Truth and Power" in Gordon, C. (ed.) (1980) Michel Foucault: Power/Knowledge, Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977, Brighton: The Harvester Press Ltd. (Given in French 1976.)

- Foucault, M. (1980a) "Two Lectures" in Gordon, C. (ed.) (1980), Michel Foucault: Power/Knowledge, Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977, Brighton: The Harvester Press Ltd. (Originally published in French in 1977.)
- Foucault, M. (1981) The History of Sexuality: Volume One, An Introduction, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books. (Originally published in French in 1976.)
- Foucault, M. (1982) "The Subject and Power" in Dreyfus, H.L. and Rabinow, P. (1980), Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics. With an Afterword by Michel Foucault, Brighton: The Harvest Press.
- Gagne, R.M. (1970) The Conditions of Learning, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Gagne, R.M. and Briggs, L.J. (1974) Principles and Instructional Design, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Gintis, H. (1980) "Communication and Politics: Marxism and the Problem of Liberal Democracy", Socialist Review, Vol. 10, pp. 189-232.
- Gluckmann, M. (1974) Structuralist Analysis in Contemporary Social Thought, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Gordon, C. (ed.) (1980) Michel Foucault: Power/Knowledge, Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977, Brighton: The Harvester Press Ltd.
- Gouldner, A.W. (1970) The Coming Crisis of Western Sociology, London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd.
- Gouldner, A.W. (1976) The Dialectic of Ideology and Technology: The Origins, Grammar and Future of Ideology, London: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Grace, G. (1978) Teachers, Ideology and Control: A Study in Urban Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Grignon, C. (1971) L'Ordre des Choses: les Fonctions Sociales de l'Enseignement Technique, Paris: Minuit.
- Hall, S. (1977) "Schooling, State and Society" in Dale, R. et al. (eds.) (1981), Schooling and the National Interest, Barcombe: The Falmer Press.
- Halsey, A.H., Floud, J. and Anderson, C.A. (eds.) (1961) Education, Economy and Society, New York: Free Press.
- Hamilton, D. (1973) "The Integration of Knowledge: Practice and Problems", Journal of Curriculum Studies, Vol. 5, No.2, pp. 146-155.

- Hargreaves, D.H. (1975) Interpersonal Relations and Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Hargreaves, D.H. et al. (1975) Deviance in Classrooms, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Hargreaves, J. (ed.) (1982) Sport, Culture and Ideology, London: Routledge Kegan Paul.
- Harris, Z. (1952) "Discourse Analysis", Language, No. 28, pp. 1-30.
- Hartnett, A. (ed.) (1982) The Social Sciences in Educational Studies, London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd.
- Hilgard, E.R. and Bower, G.H. (1973) Teorias del Aprendizaje, Mexico: Editorial Trillas. (Originally published in English in 1966.)
- Illich, I.D. (1971) Deschooling Society, New York: Harper and Row.
- Ing, M. (1978) "Learning Theories" in Lawton, D. et al. (eds.) (1978) Theory and Practice of Curriculum Studies, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Johnson, R. et al. (1981) Unpopular Education. Schooling and Social Democracy in England since 1944, London: Hutchinson.
- Karabel, J. and Halsey, A.H. (eds.) (1977) Power and Ideology in Education, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kohl, H. (1969) The Open Classroom. A Practical Guide to a New Way of Teaching, London: Methuen.
- Kohn, M.L. (1977) Class and Conformity: A Study in Values, with a Re-assessment, 1977, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Kohn, M.O. and Robin, M.W. (1956) "Situational Patterning in Inter-group Relations", American Sociological Review, Vol. 21 (April), pp. 164-174.
- Lemert, C.C. and Gillan, G. (1982) Michel Foucault: Social Theory and Transgression, New York: Columbia University Press.
- Linskie, R. (1977) The Learning Process: Theory and Practice, New York: Van Nostrand Company.
- Lippitt, R. and White, R.K. (1958) "An Experimental Study of Leadership and Group Life" in Maccoby, E.E. (ed.) (1958), Readings in Social Psychology, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

- Lundgren, U.P. (1977) Model Analysis of Pedagogical Processes. Department of Educational Research, Stockholm Institute of Education.
- Maingueneau, D. (1976) Initiation aux methodes de l'Analyse du Discourse, Paris: Hachette.
- McLaughlin, T.H. (1983) "The Pastoral Curriculum: Concept and Principles", Educational Analysis, Vol. 5, No. 1.
- Medina, E.J. and Higgins, B. (1963) Aspectos Sociales del Desarrollo Economico en America Latina, Paris: UNESCO.
- Meighan, R. and Brown, C. (1980) "Location of Learning and Ideologies of Education: Some Issues Raised by a Study of Education Otherwise' in Barton, L. et al. (eds.) (1980), Schooling Ideology and the Curriculum, Barcome: The Falmer Press.
- Moore, R. (1983) Education and Production: A Generative Model, Ph.D. Thesis submitted to the University of London.
- Musgrave, P.W. (1965) The Sociology of Education, London: Methuen.
- Offe, C. and Ronge, V. (1975) "Theses on the Theory of the State" in Dale, R. et al. (eds.) (1981), Schooling and the National Interest, Barcome: The Falmer Press.
- Pan American Union (1967) The Alliance for Progress and the Latin American Development Prospects, Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press.
- Parsons, T. (1951) The Social System, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Parsons, T. (1959) "The School Class as a Social System: Some of its Functions in American Society", Harvard Educational Review, 29 (Fall 1949), pp. 297-318.
- Parsons, T., Bales, F. et al. (1955) Family: Socialization and interaction Process, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.
- Pechoux, M. (1975) Les Verites de la Palice, Paris: Maspero.
- Pedro, E.R. (1981) Social Stratification and Classroom Discourse: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Classroom Practice. Department of Educational Research, Stockholm Institute of Education.
- Perloff, H.S. (1969) Alliance for Progress: A Social Invention in the Making, Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press.
- Perry, G. (1975) "Comentario al libro de Foxley A. Estrategias de Desarrollo y Modelos de Planificacion", Coyuntura Economica, Fedesarrollo, Bogota.

- Poulantzas, N. (1978) State, Power and Socialism, London: NLB.
- Puiggrós, A. (1980) Imperialismo y Educacion en America Latina, Mexico: Editorial Nueva Imagen.
- Rathbone, CH. (1972) "Examining the Open Education Classroom", School Review, Vol. 80, pp. 521-549.
- Reeder, D. (1979) "A Recurring Debate: Education and Industry" in Dale, R. et al. (eds.) (1981), Schooling and the National Interest, Barcombe: The Falmer Press.
- Robey, D. (ed.) (1973) Structuralism: An Introduction, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Romiszovsky, A.J. (1981) Designing Instructional Systems, London: Kogan Page.
- Roth, J.A. (1963) Timetables: Structuring the Passage of Time in Hospital Treatment and Other Careers, New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company.
- Sheridan, A. (1980) Michel Foucault: The Will to Truth, London: Tavistock Publications.
- Shipman, M.D. (1975) The Sociology of the School, London: Longman.
- Silberman, C.E. (1973) The Open Classroom Reader, New York, Vintage Books.
- Sinclair, J. McH. and Coulthard, R.M. (1975) Towards an Analysis of Discourse: The English used by Teachers and Pupils, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Skilbeck, M. (1980) Core Curriculum for Australian Schools, Canberra: Curriculum Development Centre.
- Skinner, C.E. (1958) Essentials of Educational Psychology, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Stebbins, R.A. (1976) "Physical Context Influences on Behaviour: The Case of Classroom Disorderliness", Environment and Behaviour, Vol. 5, No. 3, pp. 291-314.
- Strasser, H. and Randall, S. (1981) An Introduction to Theories of Social Change, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Stubbs, M. (1975) "Teaching and Talking: A Sociolinguistic Approach to Classroom Interaction" in Chanan, G. and Delamont, S. (eds.) (1975), Frontiers of Classroom Research, NFER.

- Stubbs, M. and Delamont, S. (eds.) (1976) Explorations in Classroom Observation, London: Wiley.
- Sturrock, J. (ed.) (1979) Structuralism and Since: From Levi Strauss to Derrida, London: Oxford University Press.
- Taba, H. (1952) Curriculum Development. Theory and Practice, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.
- Tyler, R.W. (1950) Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Tyler, W.B. (1982) The Sociology of the School, A Review, Canterbury: Printed by the Reprographic Services of the Teachers' Centre.
- UNESCO (1959) "Proyecto Principal de Educacion en America Latina", Boletin Trimestral del Proyecto Principal de Educacion en America Latina, No. 1, Enero-Marzo 1959.
- United Nations-ECLA (1968) Education, Human Resources and Development in Latin America, New York: United Nations Publications.
- United Nations-ECLA (1969) El Pensamiento de la Cepal, Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria.
- United Nations-ECLA (1969) "Politica Educativa" en "El Cambio Social en la Politica de Desarrollo Social en America Latina, Washington.
- Vulliamy, G. (1976) "What Counts as School Music" in Whitty, G. and Young, M. (eds.) (1976), Explorations in the Politics of School Knowledge, Nafferton: Nafferton Books.
- Walker, R. (1971) The Social Setting of the Classroom: A Review of Observational Studies and Research, M.Phil. Thesis submitted to the University of London.
- Waller, W. (1932) The Sociology of Teaching, New York: Wiley and Sons Inc.
- Weber, M. (1964) The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, New York: The Free Press.
- Weedon, C. et al. (1980) "Theories of Language and Subjectivity" in Hall, S. et al. (eds.) (1980), Culture, Media and Language, London: Hutchinson.
- Williams, R. (1961) The Long Revolution, London: Chatto and Windus.
- Willis, P. (1977) Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs, Westmead: Saxon House.

- Woods, R. (1977) "Discourse Analysis: The Work of Michel Pecheux",
Ideology and Consciousness, No. 2, Autumn 1977.
- Woods, P. (1979) The Divided School, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Wright, E.O. (1978) Class, Crisis and the State, London: NLB.
- Young, M.F.D. (ed.) (1971) Knowledge and Control: New Directions for
the Sociology of Education, London: Collier MacMillan.
- Young, T.R. and Deardsley, P. (1968) "The Sociology of Classroom
Teaching: A Micro-Functional Analysis", Journal of Educational
Thought, Vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 175-186.

2. Colombia

2a. General Aspects

Agudelo, C. (1974) "El Estado y los Partidos Politicos en Colombia 1930-1973", Ideología y Sociedad, No. 9.

Arevalo, J.E. (1964) Historia de la Educacion en Colombia, Bogota: Ministerio de Educacion Nacional.

Arnove, R. (1975) "Políticas Educativas Durante el Frente Nacional 1958-1974", Revista Colombiana de Educacion, No. 1, p. 85.

Benoit, A. (1974) Changing the Educational System: A Colombian Case-Study, Munchen: Weltforum Verlag.

Bernal, A. (1965) La Educacion en la Historia de Colombia, Bogota: Ministerio de Educacion Nacional.

Bibliowichz, A. (1976) Lo Publico es Privado: Un Analisis de la Television Colombiana. Doctoral Thesis, Cornell University.

Camacho, G.A. (1977) La Organizacion Social de la Centralizacion del Capital en Colombia, Cali: Univalle.

Camacho, A. et al. (1981) "Colombia en los 80: Hacia una Caracterizacion de la Coyuntura Historica en Colombia", Boletin de Coyuntura Socio-economica, No. 4, Cali: Univalle.

Chavez, N.P. et al. (1978) La Orientacion en el Proceso Ensenanza-Aprendizaje. Division de Diseno y Programacion Curricular de Educacion Formal, Bogota: Ministerio de Educacion Nacional.

Casallas, B.A. (1956) La Evolucion Educativa en Colombia, Bogota: Cultural Colombiana.

Corr, E.G. (1972) The Political Process in Colombia, Denver, Colorado: A publication of the University of Denver.

Currie, L. (1965a) Operacion Colombia, Barranquilla: Camara de Comercio.

Currie, L. (1965b) Ensayos sobre Planeacion, Bogota: Tercer Mundo.

Currie, L. (1966) Accelerating Development: The Necessity and the Means. With Application of a Breakthrough Plan to Colombia, New York: MacGraw Hill.

Dix, R. (1967) Colombia: The Political Dimension of Change, New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Fals Borda, O. (1962) La Educacion en Colombia: Bases para su Interpretacion Sociologica, Bogota: Facultad de Sociologia.

Garcia, N. (1973) Sociologia de la Educacion en Colombia, Bogota: Imprenta Patriotica del Instituto Caro y Cuervo.

Gomez, V.M. (1981) Educacion y Mercados de Trabajo: Politicas de Seleccion, Ponencia de Mexico, Bogota: MEN.

Jallade, J.P. (1974) Public Expenditure on Education and Incomes Distribution in Colombia, Occasional Paper No. 18, Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press.

Jaramillo, U.J. (1964) El Pensamiento Colombiano en el Siglo XIX, Bogota: Temis.

Jaramillo, U.J. (1980) "El Proceso de Educacion" in Manual de Historia de Colombia, Tomo III, Bogota: Instituto Colombiano de Cultura.

Jimenez Cadena, G. (1967) Sacerdote y Cambio Social: Estudio Sociologico de los Andes Colombianos, Bogota: Tercer Mundo.

Kalmanovitch, S. (1977) Ensayos sobre el Desarrollo del Capitalismo Dependiente, Bogota: Editorial Pluma.

Lebot, I. (1972) "Elementos para la Historia de la Educacion en Colombia en el Siglo XX" in DANE, Boletin Mensual de Estadistica, 249, pp. 123-161.

Levine, D.H. (1981) Religion and Politics in Latin America: The Catholic Church in Venezuela and Colombia, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Lombard, F.J. (1979) The Foreign Investment Screening Process: The Case of Colombia, 1957-1967, Boulder, Colorado: West View Press.

Lucio, R. y FES (1978) 20 Años del Sena en Colombia, 1957-1977, Bogota.

Melo, J.O. (1978) "La Republica Conservadora" in Arrubla, M. et al. (eds.) (1978), Colombia Hoy, Bogota: Siglo XXI Editores.

Mora, J.O. (1981) Caracteristicas Curriculares de Programas de Educacion Primaria en Colombia, Bogota: Mimeografiado.

Musto, S.A. et al. (1971) Los Medios de Comunicacion Social al Servicio del Desarrollo Rural: Analisis de Eficiencia de Accion Cultural Popular-Radio Sutatenza, Colombia, Bogota: Editorial los Andes.

Parra, S. (1979) La profesion del Maestro y el desarrollo Nacional. Proyecto "Desarrollo y Educacion en America Latina y El Caribe", MEN, CIUP, UPN, UNESCO, CEPAL, PNUD (Mimeografiado).

- Rama, G. and Goldsen, R. (1969) "A Statistical Overview of Education in Colombia", Bogota Fundacion Ford, Mimeografiado.
- Ramírez, J.M. (1982) "Industrialization and Development in Colombia". A paper presented to the Conference on Geographical Perspectives on "Development" held at Bedford College, University of London, 8-10 July.
- Safford, F. (1965) "Foreign and National Enterprise in Nineteenth Century Colombia", Business History Review, Vol. XXXIX (1965), pp. 503-526.
- Safford, F. (1976) The Ideal of the Practical. Colombia's Struggle to Form a Technical Elite, Austin and London: University of Texas Press.
- Sorpa, M. (1976) Neo-imperialismo y Sub-desarrollo Colombiano, Bogota: Cinep.
- Universidad Pedagogica Nacional, UNP (1976) Documentacion Educativa, Vol. 3, No. 9, Boletín Trimestral, Bogota: Imprenta Mineducacion.
- Uribe, A.J. (1972) "Prologo" en Instruccion Publica: Disposiciones Vigentes, Exposiciones de Motivos, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional, pp. X-XXXVIII.
- Zalamea, J. (1938) La Educacion Nacional en Colombia, Bogota, Imprenta Nacional.
- 2b. Government Documents
- Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, DANE (1971) Boletín Mensual de Estadística, No. 243.
- Departamento Nacional de Planeación, DNP (1972) Las Cuatro Estrategias, Bogota: Editorial Los Andes.
- Departamento Nacional de Planeación, DNP (1975) Para Cerrar la Brecha. Plan de Desarrollo Social, Económico y Regional 1975-1978, Bogota: Ediciones del Banco de la Republica.
- Departamento Nacional de Planeación, DNP (1980) Plan de Integración Nacional 1979-1982, Bogota: Industria Continental Grafica.
- Memoria (1927) Memoria del Ministro de Educacion al Congreso de 1927, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional.
- Memoria (1935) Memoria del Ministro de Educacion al Congreso de 1935, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional.

Memoria (1936) Memoria del Ministro de Educacion al Congreso de 1936,
Bogota: Imprenta Nacional.

Memoria (1940) Memoria del Ministro de Educacion al Congreso de 1940,
Bogota: Imprenta Nacional.

Memoria (1959) Memoria del Ministro de Educacion al Congreso de 1959,
Bogota: Imprenta Nacional.

Memoria (1960) Memoria del Ministro de Educacion al Congreso de 1960,
Bogota: Imprenta Nacional.

Memoria (1961) Memoria del Ministro de Educacion al Congreso de 1961,
Bogota: Imprenta Nacional.

Memoria (1963) Memoria del Ministro de Educacion al Congreso de 1963,
Bogota: Imprenta Nacional.

Memoria (1964) Memoria del Ministro de Educacion al Congreso de 1964,
Bogota: Imprenta Nacional.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1935) El Texto de los Programas de Primera y Segunda Ensenanza, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1937) Conferencia de Directores de Educacion, Agosto 1937, Bogota.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1940) Programas de Salud e Higiene para las Escuelas Primarias y Observaciones Metodologicas sobre la Materia, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1941) La Escuela Normal Publicacion del Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, Segunda Epoca, Bogota.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1959) Educacion Colombiana Tomo I, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1959a) Planeamiento Integral de la Educacion, Bogota: Imprenta Nacional.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1964) Programas de Ensenanza Primaria, Decreto 1710 del 25 de Julio de 1963, Editorial Bedout.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1965) Guias Didacticas Para Maestros de Primaria, Bogota: Imprenta Canal Ramirez.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1970) La Educacion en Colombia 1960-1968, anexo estadístico, Bogota.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1972) Guia para el Maestro, Bogota: Italgraf.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1976) "Politica Educativa Nacional, Reforma Educativa 1976", Serie del Educador, No. 5.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1977) Lineamientos Generales del Currículo, Direccion General del Capacitacion y Perfeccionamiento Docente, Currículo y Medios Educativos, Bogota.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1977a) Programa Nacional de Mejoramiento Cualitativo, Direccion General de Capacitacion y Perfeccionamiento Docente, Currículo y Medios Educativos, Bogota.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1977b) Transferencia de Tecnologia Educativa en Colombia, Bogota: Editorial Don Bosco.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1978) Los Fundamentos Teoricos de la Tecnologia Educativa en los Programas de Mejoramiento Educativo que Adelanta el Ministerio, Bogota.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1978a) Reglamento Interno para las Escuelas Primarias Oficiales, Bogota.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1979) Manual de Administracion Curricular, Educacion Basica Primaria, Direccion General de Capacitacion y Perfeccionamiento Docente, Currículo y Medios Educativos, Bogota.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1979a) Sintesis del Proceso de Diseño y Programacion Curriculares, Bogota.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1979b) Unidades Integradas Experimentales Tercer Grado, Educacion Basica Primaria. Direccion General de Capacitacion y Perfeccionamiento Docente, Currículo y Medios Educativos, Bogota.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1980) Como emplear el Sistema de Evaluacion del Alumno cuando se aplica la Nueva Programacion Curricular de Educacion Basica Primaria, Bogota.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (1982) La Calidad de la Educacion Secundaria, Bogota.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (no date) Lineamientos Generales del Currículo Colombiano, Direccion General de Capacitacion y Perfeccionamiento Docente, Currículo y Medios Educativos, Bogota.

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, MEN (no date) Proyecto Padres de Familia, La Participacion de los Padres en la Reforma Educativa, Direccion General de Capacitacion y Perfeccionamiento Docente, Currículo y Medios Educativos, Bogota.

2c. Leyes (Laws)

Ley 39 de 1903, sobre Instruccion publica. (Law 39 of 1903 concerning public instruction.)

Ley 38 de 1914, que ordena la creacion de un Instituto Agricola Nacional. (Law 38 of 1914 which commands the creation of a National Agricultural Institute.)

Ley 31 of 1917, sobre la difusion de la Ensenanza Industrial. (Law 31 of 1917 concerning the promotion of Industrial Education.)

Ley 75 de 1926, sobre Educacion Vocacional Agricola. (Law 75 of 1926 concerning Vocational Agricultural Education.)

Ley 14 de 1926, sobre Educacion Industrial. (Law 14 of 1926 on Industrial Education.)

Ley 56 de 1927, por la cual se dictan algunas disposiciones sobre Instruccion Publica. (Law 56 of 1927 which issues certain regulations about public instruction.)

Ley 22 de 1930, sobre Education Industrial. (Law 22 of 1930 on Industrial Education.)

Ley 132 de 1937, sobre Educacion Vocacional Agricola. (Law 132 of 1937 on Vocational Agricultural Education.)

Ley 143 de 1948, sobre Educacion Vocacional Agricola. (Law 143 of 1948 on Vocational Agricultural Education.)

Ley 43 de 1975, por la cual se reorganiza le Educacion Primaria y Secundaria .. y se dictan otras disposiciones. (Law 43 of 1975 which re-organises primary and secondary education and issues other regulations.)

2d. Decretos (Decrees)

Decreto 491 de 1904, por el cual se reglamenta la Ley 39 de 1903 sobre Instruccion Publica. (Decree 491 of 1904 elaborating on Law 39 of 1903 on public instruction.)

Decreto 1790 de 1930, por el cual se reglamentan los articulos 4o, 5o, 6o, 7o y 8o de la Ley 56 de 1927, sobre minimo de Educacion obligatoria. (Decree 1790 of 1930 regulating the articles No. 4, 5, 6, and 8 of Law 56 of 1927 about minimum compulsory education.)

Decreto 1487 de 1932, sobre reforma de la ensenanza primaria y secundaria. (Decree 1487 of 1932 on the reform of primary and secondary education.)

Decreto 3468 de 1950, por el cual se adopta el plan de estudios de la escuela primaria urbana y rural y se dictan otras disposiciones. (Decree 3468 of 1950 which adopts the curriculum for urban and rural schools and implements other regulations.)

Decreto 2031 de 1957, por el cual se crean escuelas alternas para la extension de la Educacion Primaria. (Decree 2031 of 1957 concerning the creation of alternate schools to facilitate the extention of primary education.)

Decreto 1637 de 1960, por medio del cual se re-organiza el Ministerio de Educacion Nacional y se determinan sus funciones. (Decree 1637 of 1960 which reorganises the Ministry of Education and determines its functions.)

Decreto 1710 de 1963, por el cual se adopta el Plan de estudios de la Educacion Primaria Colombiana y se dictan otras disposiciones. (Decree 1710 of 1963 which establishes the curriculum of Primary Education and issues other regulations.)

Decreto 1955 de 1963, por medio del cual se re-organiza la Educacion Normalista. (Decree 1955 of 1963 which re-organises Normal Education.)

Decreto 1997 de 1975, por el cual se establece el numero de alumnos por curso en los establecimientos oficiales de educacion elemental y media. (Decree 1997 of 1975 that establishes the number of pupils per class in the public primary and secondary schools.)

Decreto 088 de 1976, por el cual se re-estructura el sistema educativo y se re-organiza el Ministerio de Educacion Nacional. (Decree 088 of 1976 which re-structures the Educational system and re-organises the Ministry of Education.)

Decreto 089 de 1976, por el cual se re-estructura el Instituto Colombiano para el Fomento de la Educacion Superior, ICFES, y se dictan otras disposiciones. (Decree 089 of 1976 that re-structures the ICFES and issues other regulations.)

Decreto 1419 de 1978, por el cual se señalan las normas y las orientaciones basicas para la administracion curricular en los niveles de educacion pre-escolar, Basica (primaria y secundaria) Media Vocacional e Intermedia Profesional. (Decree 1419 of 1978 which indicates the norms and basic regulations for the administration of the curriculum at the pre-school, Basic (primary and secondary), Middle Vocational and Intermediate levels of education.)

Decreto 1816 de 1978, por el cual se regulan las escuelas experimentales, Centros experimentales Pilotos. (Decree 1816 of 1978 concerning experimental schools and experimental centres (pilot schools).)

2e. Resoluciones (Resolutions)

Resolucion 2402 de 1950, por la cual se fijan los programas para las escuelas primarias del Pais. (Resolution 2402 of 1950 which adopts the curricular programmes for all primary schools in the Country.)

Resolucion 068 de 1964, por la cual se adoptan los programas de ensenanza para los establecimientos oficiales y privados de educacion elemental. (Resolution 064 of 1964 which adopts the curriculum to be followed by all private and public schools.)

Resolucion 3927 de 1964, por la cual se adoptan las guias didacticas para interpretar los Programas de educacion primaria Colombiana. (Resolution 3927 of 1964 which adopts the didactic guides to be used for the interpretation of the curriculum in primary education.)

2f. International Reports

Currie, L. (1950) The Basis of a Development Program for Colombia, Washington D.C.: IBRD.

Gooden, H. (1965) The Education of Elementary Teachers in the Colombian Primary School. An Analysis and Recommendations for Planning, Bogota: UNESCO-AID-IBRD.

Internatinal Labour Organisation, ILO (1970) Towards Full Employment: A Programme for Colombia, prepared by an International Team organised by the International Labour Office, Geneva, 1970.

Lebret, L.J. (1958) Mision "Economia y Humanismo". Estudio sobre las Condiciones del Desarrollo en Colombia, Bogota: Cromos.

Parra, S. (1979) La Profesion del Maestro y el Desarrollo Nacional. Proyecto "Desarrollo y Educacion en America Latina y El Caribe", MEN, CIUP, UPN, UNESCO, CEPAL, PNUD (Mimeografiado).

UNESCO-AID-IBRD (1963) Recommendations for Educational Planning. A report presented by the representatives of UNESCO-AID-IBRD Mission to the Ministry of Education, Bogota.

USAID Mission to Colombia (1973) Colombia: Education Sector Assessment, USAID Monograph.

Velez, G.J. (1964) Caracteristicas de la Educacion en Colombia durante el ultimo Decenio, UNESCO-AID-IBDR.